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The Week

LAST week's issue of The New Republic carried an article which referred to intervention in Mexico as "an accomplished fact." The events of the subsequent seven days have justified these words up to the hilt. Only a fortnight ago Secretary Hughes was explaining that the sale of arms to Obregon implied no interference in Mexico's internal affairs. As we write, Mexican federal troops have passed through American territory with the approval of our government; two cruisers and six destroyers have been sent to Mexican ports to compel the de la Huerta forces to lift the blockade; American oil ships have been fired on while running the blockade at Tampico; and American arms and ammunition are already being used against the rebels in the hands of Obregonist forces. None of these actions on our part violates international law; the de la Huerta "government" has no legal right to interfere with our shipping, nor is there any bar to our aiding Obregon with arms and the use of American railroad facilities. Yet it remains true that the President and the Secretary of State, without consultation with Congress, have committed the country to a course which can easily terminate in an undesirable and unnecessary war. Despite Mr. Hughes's ultimatum some of the Mexican harbors have been mined; if an American ship should be blown up, the result would be another 1898. Even if this does not happen, should de la Huerta win —and unfortunately almost every precedent since 1911 is in favor of his doing so—it is difficult to see how we can avoid conflict. If he loses, we will have earned no friendship among the Mexicans whom we have helped to retain in power; and will have injured our prestige throughout Latin-America by a policy which, in the eyes of the South Americans, seems dominated by economic interests only. The New Republic believes the Obregon government to be in every way more desirable for Mexico than any which de la Huerta would set up; but it is possible to pay too high a price even to keep a desirable government in power.

"IT is a terrible responsibility," said Ramsay MacDonald in his statement immediately after the overthrow of the Baldwin government, by a vote of 328 to 256, had made Labor's rule in Great Britain inevitable. The words were no idle rhetoric. Mr. MacDonald takes control with only a minority of the House behind him. His government will exist by sufferance of the Liberals who will overturn it as soon as any measure of a radical character is introduced. It comes into power at a critical moment in the history of Europe, and with the knowledge that the responsibility of the peacemaker rests more heavily on England than any other power. At home, it must struggle with the unemployment problem, unable to apply the drastic remedies of which its orators have talked so easily from the electioneering rostrum; abroad, it has grave questions to settle with the dominions over preferential tariff rates. It has Swaraj to deal with in India, and unreconciled Ulster in Ireland. Less than two days before the Baldwin Cabinet fell, an extensive railroad strike began in England with which the Labor government must struggle under conditions of peculiar embarrassment. The advent of a working-class government in Great Britain, coming to power, for the first time in history by the orderly use of the ballot box, is an event of extraordinary importance; but its friends have assuredly no occasion for thoughtless jubilation.

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WILL Poincaré's government last until the April election? The Paris correspondents are beginning to hint that it will not. Even President Millerand, it is said, now favors the substitution at an early date of Barthou, Chairman of the Reparation Commission. Poincaré himself is described, by the well-informed Ferdinand Tuohy of the New York World, as quite willing to go, but desiring to hang on until the election in order to fall, not on a question of foreign policy, but on a domestic issue. Mr. Tuohy gives an impressive list of items in the general indictment against him:

> The separatist movement he fostered has been denounced; the franc has depreciated eighty-six percent since he came into power; the cost of living has gone up by leaps and bounds; the Allied commission in control of Germany no longer exists except in name; the Ruhr manoeuvres have served no end; no reparations seem likely to come in during the year; the experts' committee which the Premier at first fought stubbornly, is functioning and will unquestionably have a vital effect; Ramsay MacDonald is about to link up with Russia, which Poincaré has been implored to do for months past; the United States has been alienated by ignoring the debt issue; French prestige in the Near East has lapsed to what it was in 1914 when Liman von Sanders ruled in Turkey; Italy and Spain have joined hands across France and the sea, necessitating extra naval expenditure; France, as a direct result of Poincaré's policy must submit to crushing taxes and sacrifices; war victims and inhabitants of the devastated areas have to go begging for millions which have been allotted to them, and everybody knows without being told that the world has looked askance at France more than once since January 1923.

THIS is drastic enough; but it is nothing compared to the castigation Poincaré receives from Lloyd George in the latest of the latter's weekly articles written for the United Feature Syndicate, and published in America by the Hearst journals among others. "If the object of statesmanship be to convert Europe into a shambles within the lifetime of this generation, then France is on the right track," begins the former Prime Minister, who perhaps has forgotten how much he had to do with writing the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. He predicts that another European war is inevitable if the Poincaré policy is not modified. "Instead of Russia, the British Empire, Italy and the United States of America, next time there will be by her [France's] side Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Jugoslavia and Rumania! That is the calculation. What statesmanship! If war came again between France and Germany, one word from Russia would neutralize three out of four of these new allies." A few months ago, such a prediction as this last might have seemed fantastic. Today, with the Little Entente conference at Belgrade fresh in memory, with the ink hardly dry on the recent Italo-Spanish accord, and the terms of the Italo-Jugoslavian treaty expected to be announced any day, with Beneš in London trying to explain away the bad effect of his recent contract with Paris, with a British-inspired Venizelist government in Greece and with Poland giving full recognition to the Moscow government, Lloyd George seems far from the hysterical Cassandra the French would like to think him.

ELSEWHERE in this issue, Dr. Ernest Minor Patterson of the Wharton School of Commerce and Finance, University of Pennsylvania, publishes an article which really deserves the much abused phrase, "should be read by every American citizen." At a recent dinner in New York, Dr. Haven Emerson, former health commissioner for that city, and Dr. Patterson's colleague in the just completed investigation of conditions in Germany for the American Committee for Relief of German Children, recited some of the facts discoverable there today to the eye of a trained medical observer. They may be summarized as follows:

> Two million school children are urgently in need of food and clothing at the present moment; 500,000 more, under school age, lack the same necessities. Among children, tuberculosis, scurvy, rickets, and blindness which results from insufficient nourishment are rapidly increasing. Open cases of pulmonary tuberculosis are common among children as young as six months—a condition almost unheard of in the United States, and the result of appalling overcrowding, which forces children to sleep in the same bed with tuberculous adults. The supply of meat is from thirty-three to forty-five percent smaller than pre-war. Whereas the United States uses about a pint of milk per capita per day, Berlin receives a little less than 150,000 quarts for 4,000,000 people—of which as much as 50,000 quarts sometimes remains unsold because people can't afford to buy it. Ten percent of the babies born at once become public charges; and ten percent of the people forced to seek refuge in municipal lodging houses do so as families, having given up the fight. Because of inadequate diet, only one-half to one-third of the mothers are able to nurse their babies, and even these produce on the average only about one-half as much milk as was formerly the case. In many cities the death and birth rates are now equal. Children's hospitals are so poor that the commonest supplies are lacking. Infants' clothing, rubber sheets and even bottle nipples are not available. Many hospitals have closed some wards for economy, and beds are crowded together, in those remaining open, far beyond the safety margin in contagious diseases. The homes of the poor are almost without light and heat, so that visiting nurses are unable to continue tours of inspection after daylight fails. Twenty percent of the six-year old children are unable to begin school because of their physical condition. Unemployment was rapidly increasing during Dr. Emerson's visit in late December and early January. In Dresden, for example, it increased in 1923 from 1,500 to 63,000. Though the need of food is desperate, the one cry of the mothers whose homes he visited (of which there were over one hundred, selected by himself at random in several cities) was for soap, bed "linen" and undergarments for their families, to keep themselves clean.

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THE American Committee for Relief of German Children, which sent Messrs. Emerson and Patterson abroad is, of course. the organization which is collecting funds for the distribution by the Society of Friends (the Quakers). An effort similar to that in America is in progress in England. It is interesting to read in Cyrus H. K. Curtis's New York Evening Post, a special wireless despatch from the "Evening Post Foreign Service" (copyright by the Public Ledger Company) commenting on the English effort. "That the announcement of the campaign coincides with the opening of Parliament and that the names of prominent Laborites are among the indorsers of the movement have led to the opinion in some quarters that the Friends, who for a year have been conducting relief work in Germany, have been inadvertently intrigued into an organization of some political character," says the Evening Post correspondent. ". . . Up to late last night [January 10] no subscriptions had been received by the new committee. . . . The political flavor of the 'British Appeal for Relief in Germany,' as the new committee is called, is given by the names of Ramsay MacDonald, Arthur Henderson and Margaret Bondfield, and there are other names such as H. G. Wells, J. H. Hertz, A. Maude Royden, J. M. Kenos [Keynes?], one rear admiral and three bishops." The Evening Post's headline for this despatch is "German aid plan exploits Quakers; London smpathizers get friends to join in new appeal for funds; move has political flavor." The writer of this article, of course, may have been entirely unaware of the harm it would do by casting doubt on the whole campaign in both countries. For our part, after reading the Emerson-Patterson reports, we should not care to have even a journalistic responsibility for seeking, by innuendo, to impede the effort to succor the starving children in Germany.

THE Ruhr enterprise, while ruining Germany, has come within an ace of ruining France. This is no longer denied even by the staunch defenders of French policy. Nevertheless, they argue, the Ruhr invasion was necessary. It was necessary, the Times argues, editorially, to bring home to the Germans the consequence of their defeat, but also it "has made it easier for the French government to 'debamboozle' the people about the promises of the spring of 1919 that Germany would pay for everything. Slowly it has become clear that these promises were based on hopes rather than on ascertained economic facts." According to this interpretation, the French government, which must have known the facts, and the Times, which must also have known them, did not dare to make them public. They waited until the facts themselves should speak, in the desperate writhings of French currency and finance at the edge of the abyss. Pass the buck at whatever cost to the people has been Poincaré's policy, a policy which commands the warm admiration of the Times. It is hard to conceive how imbecile and supine a policy would have to be in order to merit the disapproval of the Times.

ANDRÉ TARDIEU thinks he can demonstrate that the collapse of the franc was caused by political manipulation. Except for reconstruction expenditures—essentially investments—France has balanced her budget in the last year. Her general commercial position is sound. Then why should the franc have fallen in the course of the year by one-third of its value? Is it not plain that "France is the object of a concerted movement to bring pressure on her by depreciating her currency?" The trouble with this hypothesis is that the decline in the franc has been too gradual, too long continued. The artificial depression of a value must be carried through promptly before the real facts can operate to produce a rally and bring the bears to ruin. The franc is declining because the truth about it is leaking out. Little by little it is coming to be suspected even by the most innocent French investors that the "sums recoverable from Germany" upon which the French financial structure leans heavily, are mostly myth. The Ruhr invasion, by demonstrating the unproductiveness of the sheriff's seizure process, gave a great shock to the franc, from which it shows no sign of recovering.

AN increasing number of people are asking us the question, What is the franc really worth? Two cents, four cents, six, ten? We do not know, but we think we know the factors that must be taken into account in trying to reach a conclusion. Assuming that France does not have to fight another war in the next generation, and assuming that she will not repudiate her domestic debt, in whole or in part, the value of the franc must in the long run depend on the debt-bearing capacity of the country. That capacity is closely related to the national income, and fairly closely to the national wealth. Assuming that the national wealth of France is $100,000,000,000 in gold—a generous estimate—the country could certainly bear a debt of $10,000,000,000. That would correspond roughly with double our own burden of national debt. It is conceivable that we might carry four times our present debt, and that France could carry $20,000,000,000. With the franc at par the French domestic debt would be $60,000,000,000, three times any practicable maximum. With the franc at five cents the debt burden would be $15,000,000,000. That, we think, is too heavy to be carried securely for any long time. At two cents for the franc the burden would be $6,000,000,000 —decidedly less than the national capacity. In these calculations we have ignored the possibility that France will receive substantial sums from Ger-

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many, or pay her debts to England and America. Such possibilities seem to fall in the realm of metaphysical rather than of financial speculations.

SOME months ago the New Republic printed an article, Wlad of the Beets, describing the condition under which children labor in the sugar beet fields in Michigan. Immediately, violent words of protest were heard from that fair commonwealth. Its citizens asserted that there was no child labor in Michigan; that if there was, the children thoroughly enjoyed it; and that if they didn't, they were as obstinate and contrary as the students at Dotheboys Hall. We commend to the attention of these apologists the words of Justice M. S. Mills, of Flint, Michigan, as reported in a recent issue of the Flint Daily Herald. A young woman was brought before the justice, charged with drunkenness. In examining her history, he learned that because she had been kept at home and forced to work in the sugar beets, she had reached only the second grade as the result of five years' schooling. The Herald continues:

> When this fact was brought out before Justice Mills the justice gave a scathing arraignment on the fact that he had been unable to secure any abeyance of the child labor used in the beet fields. He stated that a great lack of conscience on the part of the newspapers in putting the facts about child labor in the beet fields before the public was responsible for the sad lack of schooling so evident in many children who had been raised on farms.

Without possessing clairvoyance, we know in advance what Michigan will say to Justice Mills. It will accuse him of being unpatriotic. It will explain him as a soft-headed liberal who has evidently been reading the wrong sort of papers. And it will suggest that, if he doesn't like conditions in Michigan, he might at least have the good grace to keep still about them the way a lot of other patriotic Michiganders do, when talking hurts business.

SOME day the American people will be so fed up with propagandistic prognostications of success that their will to believe will die out completely. Now we have President Coolidge, Secretary Mellon, the bankers' associations, chambers of commerce and Nicholas Murray Butler proclaiming day after day that the Mellon plan of tax revision is gaining strength steadily. They surely know, as everyone else does, that the Mellon plan stood at the height of its popularity on the day when it was launched. If a bill embodying it had been brought to a vote on that day it might have passed. Gradually the opposition to the plan has gained strength. One defect after another in Mellon's argument has been exposed. There is today only a very slender chance that the plan as originally drafted can be passed, and the chance will be still more slender tomorrow. If the administration desires to save any part of the plan, it will have to make up its mind quickly to extensive concessions. Otherwise tax revision is likely to go over to another session, and perhaps to another party.

WE credit Secretary Mellon with the sincere belief that his plan is designed to benefit the whole population indiscriminately. Even the professional economist finds it hard to keep himself free from unwarranted dogma when he deals with so complicated a problem as the shifting and incidence of taxation. A practical man like Secretary Mellon, who has moved all his life in circles where the practical man's snap judgments are heavily overvalued, naturally falls to dogmatizing wildly, as the Secretary is now doing on the ability of the super-tax payers to unload their burdens on the public. The unfortunate aspect of such dogmas is that they are likely to conform with class interest. Secretray Mellon and other heavy super-tax payers hold honestly to the dogma that the poor will have to pay the super-taxes in the end and would be better off if they paid them in the first instance. The millions of struggling farmers and workingmen hold an opposing dogma. That is why there is rapidly forming around the Mellon scheme of tax revision the makings of a pretty formidable class conflict. Not since the free silver campaign of 1896 has any legislative proposal provided so much material for a struggle between "plutocracy" and "democracy" with the faction in power so definitely enrolled on the plutocratic side. The consequences are likely to be in evidence in the next election.

Alienating Latin-America

A FEW days ago the familiar charge was again made that the League of Nations has been interfering in affairs in the Western Hemisphere. This time it was alleged that the League had sought to reconcile Costa Rica and Panama. Commonsense might suggest that an endeavor to relieve an international tension likely to lead to war is not a crime involving much turpitude; but as a matter of fact, the League is not guilty even of this. The gentlemen at Geneva are guided in all their Latin-American activities by the one chief consideration of doing nothing which shall fail to meet the wishes of the United States. They are well aware of the peculiarly sensitive character of the emotions aroused in our breasts by those magic words, "Monroe Doctrine." They of course hope eventually to bring the United States into the League; and they realize that nothing could jeopardize that hope so much as an appearance of "meddling" in Latin-American affairs.

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The danger is not that the League will defy the Monroe Doctrine. The real danger, from the United States's point of view is that all of Latin-America, alienated by our policy, which it interprets as one of economic imperialism, will turn from us toward Europe, not only culturally (as it does already) but politically and economically as well. Such a development would frustrate the most important foreign policy of the United States, one which it has steadily pursued for many years, under both Republican and Democratic administrations. It would have the gravest effect upon our important commercial relations with our southern neighbors.

In recent years a strong sentiment has grown up among the South American republics in favor of the general idea of a league or leagues of nations. This is partly the result of the war lesson and partly, no doubt, a natural outgrowth of the Latin temperament. It is true that the Argentine Republic, Peru and Bolivia have withdrawn from the existing League; but in all three cases the action was taken under an intense temporary emotion, not characteristic of the country's sober judgment. The Argentine Republic will, in all probability, resume its full status as a member in the near future. Peru and Bolivia withdrew because of bitterness arising from the Tacna-Arica dispute, and are likely to return as soon as the feeling created by that controversy has subsided.

In general, Latin-America has been wholeheartedly for the League from the beginning. Its leaders never dreamed that the United States would stay out. In view of the contemplated North American participation, they accepted in the Covenant a humiliating reservation regarding the Monroe Doctrine. When the Senate refused to ratify and the country swept the Democrats out of office in 1920, Latin-America felt it had been tricked.

This is not to say, of course, that our southern neighbors do not recognize a considerable amount of good in the Monroe Doctrine as it has operated in the past century. Their objection to it lies in just the conditions upon which Secretary Hughes has insisted in recent speeches. They would welcome a version of the Doctrine which could be mutually subscribed to by all the powers in the Western Hemisphere. They would go even further and would be glad to see a genuine Pan-American league of nations; for the sense of pride in being Americans is quite as strong, though different in character, on one side of the equator as the other. What Latin-America objects to is our interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine as a unilateral policy of the United States, imposed upon the rest of the Western Hemisphere by sheer force. They view with the gravest apprehension our military rule in Haiti and the Dominican Republic, our suzerainty in Central America, our increasing domination of finance in several South American countries by means of loans. Even the sending of our recent naval mission to Brazil, regarded so innocently by Washington, has been interpreted in South America as heralding a military alliance between the two countries, of a sort which other nations, such as the Argentine Republic, must meet by an increased military establishment of their own, no matter how gravely the resources of the state are thereby strained.

The Fifth Pan-American Conference at Santiago, Chile, a year ago, while in openness of discussion and in candid presentation of the Latin point of view a decided advance over previous conferences, was nevertheless on the whole a disappointing and inconclusive affair. Its tangible results were of little importance; and the real issues which lie closest to the heart of Latin-America were not discussed at all. One of the gravest disappointments of the conference had to do with the Pan-American Union. The Latin Republics would like to see this body develop into a real organization for guarding peace. They believe it could easily grow into a true league of nations in the Western Hemisphere, and such a consummation seems to them eminently desirable. On the other hand, they believe that they detect a tendency on the part of the United States government to prevent the creation of any real organization through which Latin-America would be given a forum. In the past, it will be remembered, the presiding officer of the Pan-American Union has been the Secretary of State of the United States; and the delegates to it have been the diplomatic representatives at Washington of the Latin-American countries. It is obvious that such a body as this is worth rather less than nothing in the discussion of international differences; the members of the Diplomatic Corps at our capital are the last men in the world to take issue with our Secretary of State. Moreover, a country not officially recognized, as has been the case with Mexico for several years, has had no representation. Latin-America therefore, has strongly desired to have the Pan-American Union consist of elected or appointed delegates from the member countries; and to have these delegates in turn elect their own presiding officer. When these proposals were brought forward informally at the Santiago conference the American delegation strongly opposed them, and finally succeeded in securing a compromise solution: A country without diplomatic representation at Washington may now appoint a special delegate to the Pan-American Union; and so, temporarily, may one whose Washington representative is away from the capital. This whole question of representation was referred to the Union itself for further study and for a report at the next Pan-American conference which is to be held, at a date not yet fixed, at Havana, Cuba. A provision was also secured abrogating the automatic right of the American Secretary of State to be the presiding officer.

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No citizen of the United States, familiar with this country's history, will feel justified in any quixotic expectations regarding our whole policy toward Latin-America. For the present, Uncle Sam has the power; and he will utilize that power for the ends which seem best to him—ends for the most part bearing a close relationship to his own interests. Certainly, the picture is by no means one which is unrelievedly black. The United States has done much work which is distinctly on the side of the angels, in Latin-America. Yet surveying our policy as a whole, it must be said that there is justification for the apprehension felt everywhere between the Rio Grande and Tierra del Fuego as to what the United States ultimately intends to do. This apprehension will never be allayed until the more or less furtive imperialism of our government policy is succeeded by a new approach of candid and open friendliness, based on the desire, in peace and good will, to advance the interests of all nations alike—the sort of attitude which we are so fond of advising the European powers to use in their relations with one another. For such a policy an informed and enlightened public opinion in the United States is an indispensable prerequisite—and a prerequisite which unfortunately shows few signs as yet of coming into existence.

The Treasury on the Defensive

SECRETARY MELLON and his staff have been challenged with respect to the statement upon which they rest the argument for a reduction in maximum surtax rates to twenty-five percent. The fifty percent rate now in effect is a substitute for a previous maximum of sixty-five. Taxes have been paid under the fifty percent maximum rate for only a year; and Secretary Mellon admits in his letter to Senator Couzens of January 2 that he "cannot, therefore, present the 1922 figures at this time." It seems to many people in and out of Congress that this haste in again reducing the maximum rate is neither wise nor necessary. The Treasury has been questioned as to its explanation of the decline in large incomes, and especially as to the effect of tax-exempt securities in effecting such a reduction. In answering the challenge both the Secretary and his friends are making a poor showing. At Philadelphia the bankers boo and hiss Magnus Johnson; at New York another group of business men indulge in the same juvenile conduct toward Senator Copeland. The Treasury does not meet this situation squarely, but resorts to dubious statistical methods and to personal vituperation of a senator.

The Treasury's explanation of the shrinkage in large incomes was that taxpayers were "withdrawing their capital from productive business and investing it in tax-exempt securities." This produced two unfortunate effects. It freed the people with large incomes from the burden of heavy income taxes and so reduced the revenues of the government. This alleged shifting of funds to tax exempt securities was, therefore, to be condemned from the fiscal standpoint. From the point of view of general economic policy, the Treasury holds that this "seriously impedes the development of productive business." Senator Couzens pointed out to Secretary Mellon that the depression of 1921 was quite sufficient, because of its effect upon profits, to explain the decline in the upper income ranges. Everyone who is conversant with income statistics knows that more than half of these larger incomes consists of dividends received. Furthermore, the speculative losses of 1921 were immensely larger than in 1920 or 1919, while speculative gains were few. Unfortunately the Treasury does not compile its statistics in such manner that either speculative losses or deductions of interest on borrowed money can be segregated out from the three and one-half billion dollars of general deductions. We do know, however, that such deductions were almost $1,200,000,000 greater in 1921 than they had been in 1919.

The Secretary could have given a straightforward and conclusive answer to this honest doubt by analyzing those 1,240 incomes which had reported $300,000 or more income in some year since 1914. He had published these in his 1919 "Statistics of Income" and it would have been no great task to make such an analysis. Certainly this was the least the public and Congress were entitled to. Instead the Treasury indulges in some general and meaningless comparisons as to the total amount of income reported in two years. Such an answer does not carry conviction; rather it arouses suspicion.

The alleged effect of high surtax rates in impairing the revenue of the government and the business of the country by driving funds into tax-exempt securities is almost entirely without evidence to support it. In its statistics of income for 1921 the Treasury presents the gross estates of over 12,000 persons filed in 1922. Only 3.59 percent of these estates consisted of tax-exempt securities. Of these persons 251 had net estates of $1,000,000 or over; for these the percentage of tax-exempt securities was 6.82. In one of Secretary Mellon's letters he sets forth the percentage of wholly tax-exempt securities to gross estates for all people who had net estates of $1,000,000 or over, whose estates were filed during the years 1917 to 1922. They are as follows:

1917	2.21
1918	4.27
1919	5.30
1920	9.79
1921	8.79
1922	6.82

So far the showing for his argument that the in-

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vestment in these securities was responsible for the reduction in government revenues is ridiculously weak.

But in 1923, we are told, the situation has entirely changed. The Treasury "has taken twenty-one returns filed in 1923 of estates of decedents having net estates of $1,000,000 up. These returns were taken at random. They show that the percentage of wholly tax-exempt securities to gross estate in 1923 was 28.97 percent." From these twenty-one returns the Treasury concludes "again we have proof of this progressive diversion of wealth from productive to unproductive business."

This sample which the Treasury has taken lacks so much of being representative as to be misleading. Everyone who has read the papers during the last six months knows that the estate of William Rockefeller was reported during 1923. A paragraph in the same letter by Secretary Mellon gives all but unmistakable evidence that the Rockefeller estate was included in this twenty-one. The gross estate of Mr. Rockefeller, as reported in the New York Times of August 10, 1923, was $102,584,438. According to Mr. Mellon's letter his tax-exempt securities amounted to $44,000,000. During recent years the average gross estate of people who had $1,000,000 or over net has been a little less than $4,000,000. It is altogether likely, then, that the twenty remaining estates included in the Treasury's sample included less gross income than that of William Rockefeller's alone. To include the Rockefeller estate in a sample so small that it makes up more than half the total is statistically unsound and wholly misleading.

Neither does the Secretary sustain successfully his claim that "the high rates tend to destroy individual initiative and enterprise and seriously impede the development of productive business." Enterprise and the development of industry are measured by the volume of capital which finds its ways into private business; and by the flow of output which results from the productive employment of capital and labor.

There is no evidence that the present surtax rates have interfered with the flow of capital into industry. Never, except in 1920, have we floated such a volume of corporate securities in this country as were issued in 1923. Our volume of building operations has been the largest in our history. The railroads have spent over a billion dollars in expanding their properties, while the telephone companies and other public utilities have never grown at such a rate. Yet all these securities have been absorbed without any strain upon our financial markets or upon the savings of the country. Even now interest rates are falling, the prices of bonds and of investment stocks are rising, and the borrowings of member banks of the Federal Reserve system are almost at the low point since the war.

The volume of production has been unprecedented in all lines during the past year. Corporate profits for 1923 will amount to about $8,000,000,000, which is almost twice as high as in the prewar years and actually larger than in 1920. This serious impediment to productive business simply does not exist. It is a figment of the imagination, evolved out of an hysterical determination to reduce surtaxes, the effect of which we have not yet had time to discover.

Throughout all of the Treasury's defence run two other fallacies. One of them is a confusion between productive investment and profitable investment. Certainly capital invested in schools, good roads, pavements, water works and municipal lighting systems, is productive investment, even though it does not yield profit to any private individual. The other fallacy is that the exemption of state and municipal bonds has encouraged extravagance on the part of state and local governments. The needs which are met out of these borrowed funds are pressing needs. The taxes of these same governments have increased from $1,500,000,000 in 1913 to over $4,000,000,000 in 1923. This willingness of the people to tax themselves for the things which they wanted is convincing proof of the serious need which existed for the improvements built out of borrowed money.

Tax revision is a difficult business at best. The people want facts, in order that they may carry this legislative project through in the most intelligent fashion. Let the Treasury furnish them these facts without evasion and without argument. Any other course is unfair to the public and will prove disastrous to Secretary Mellon's program.

Banker and Farmer

IT is a pleasant assumption that the woes of the farmer, of which we heard much some months ago, are by way of liquidation. Respectable financial authorities have been assuring us that the farmer is now beginning to see light. The representatives in Congress from the wheat states do not admit this; but are they not professional alarmists? Unfortunately, they are in the right, if we are permitted to draw the logical inferences from the proposal of the administration to go to the support of the banks of Minnesota and the Dakotas. All through this section, it appears, the banks serving the agricultural interest are in a bad way. They hold in their portfolios too much paper —agricultural paper—on which they cannot collect. And so it is proposed to release to them some $30,000,000 in funds, through the War Finance Corporation and the Federal Reserve Board.

This is wise action. Some banks have already

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gone down, and if no measures of relief were forthcoming, an epidemic of suspensions and failures might easily get under way. Such an epidemic would not confine itself to the present focus but would quickly spread southward through Iowa and Nebraska, Missouri and Kansas and westward toward the Rockies. Vigorous action to avert such a disaster is obviously justified. In a flood the first thing to do is to patch the dykes. The question of flood control takes second place.

But the question of underlying causes cannot simply be dismissed. Why are the banks throughout the greater part of the grain belt in a precarious position? Because a large part of their agricultural customers are in a desperate position. The farmers will not begrudge the banks the aid now to be given by the administration. But they will murmur among themselves that the administration was unable to conceive of any way of helping the farmer in his deeper troubles. They will further reflect that if the government had saved the farmers the bankers would not have needed help.

Let us consider for a moment what the current depression has done to the farmers. The Report of the Secretary of Agriculture stated that in fifteen corn and wheat states four percent of the owning farmers had lost their farms through foreclosures while nearly four and one half percent had turned their farms over to their creditors without bothering with legal proceedings. Another fifteen percent were unable to meet their obligations, but were holding on to their farms by sufferance of their creditors. In three years one farmer out of five in these states has been thrust into actual or virtual bankruptcy. The other four-fifths of the farm owners are keeping their heads above water, but how much above it is best not to inquire. As for the tenant farmers, men whose capital resources are notoriously slender, their position, as one might have surmised, is found by the Department of Agriculture to be the worst of all.

"Too bad," the average city man remarks sympathetically. "Farming has overextended itself. What we need is a readjustment, more workers in the city, fewer on the farms." That readjustment is going on at a lively rate. The Department of Agriculture estimates that in 1922 the net change in population from farm to town was about 1,200,000. In 1919 22,000 workers, net, left the New York farms for the cities. In 1920 the number was 24,000. The next year was a bad one for the city laborer and only 3,000 net came in from the farms. But in 1922 the exodus was resumed, with 26,000. And those who leave the farm are the younger workers. The middle-aged and the old remain, to work a few years longer and to give a deceptive show of an adequately manned agriculture.

Let it be admitted at once that there is no virtue in the production of food in excess of human requirements. If the agricultural part of our economic organism is hypertrophied, it ought to be shrunk back, whatever the painfulness of the operation. But are we so sure that it is hypertrophied? We produce just now more wheat and meat than we can consume at home or sell abroad so long as the statesmen decree that the German population must go hungry and that millions of British must go unemployed and cut their consumption to the measure of the public dole. The failure of our foreign markets is a transitory circumstance, however. The exodus of our farm population is a permanent one. It is easy, though sometimes painful, to drive the farm population into the cities. It is virtually impossible to drive a city population to the farms.

Because of the exodus from the farms our cities become more congested year by year. Our industrial overproduction becomes more pronounced. Our alternations between prosperity and depression, overwork and unemployment are pretty sure to become more clearly marked. We shall very soon pay higher prices for milk and meat, and before we know it, for bread.

Is it not incredible, after all, that anyone should consider it good policy to sit by and note indifferently the manifest signs of agricultural decay? "It would demoralize the farmer to extend government aid to him. Self-help, self-reliance, are his best resources." Such cant, from men who have looked on complacently while our industries were built up by protective duties, still operative, still imposing heavy burdens on the farmer's breaking back! Such cant, from men who are willing to squander on American ships more money each year than would have been required to keep the farmers on their feet. Sooner or later the farmer will learn how to vote.

An Economic Theory of Anti-Unionism

MANY theories of unionism have been made in the classroom and study. A recent article by Mr. Stroup in Mining and Metallurgy by way of contrast, is one hammered out in the office of a mine superintendent and addressed to the highly practical problem of smashing the unions. Mr. Stroup is not the only coal man who would like to destroy the United Mine Workers, but unlike many of his fellows, he has a coherent theory of the "cause" of unionism and a definite proposal for fighting the union, not with more injunctions and more deputies, but by means of the elimination of that cause.

The theory is based on keen observation and a sound use of the method of correlation. Where

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work is still individualized, unions are likely to flourish. But there is little or no unionism where work is standardized and reduced to a routine. And moreover, where routine work has been substituted for "individual work," strong unions have been broken in the process. Therefore, standardization is the cure for unionism.

To this the comparison between the two great groups of miners gives strong support. "Why," asks Mr. Stroup, "is the coal miners' union so all-powerful while the metal miners' union is but the shadow of its former self? . . . Most of us can look back to the day when the Western Federation of Miners was a powerful militant organization; in the early years of this country it was fully on a par with the United Mine Workers; but what has happened?" A change, he explains, in the organization of work. The engineers have revolutionized one industry; the other has been let alone. As a result, "in the metal mines, the tradition of the individual worker, capable and responsible, has been abolished." Metal miners were once crafsmen; now they are mere "mine workers fitting into the niches and conforming to the routine laid out by their managers." But "in coal mining, on the other hand, the tradition of the individual worker has been maintained, and even extended," and with it the tradition of union organization. Therefore, he argues, the practical way to rid the coal industry of the union is "to standardize every operation down to the minutest detail so that no responsibility of any kind will fall on the worker."

The author also illustrates his thesis by the contrast between the power of the railroad organizations and the struggles and difficulties of the unions in the metal trades. And although in each case there are doubtless other factors at work, the correlation he suggests holds good even beyond his own illustrations. Steel is an equally striking example. At one time the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers was the largest and strongest union in the country; it has been impotent since the coming of the new technology. In addition to steel, rubber and automobile manufacture are often given as the industries in which the machine process and mass production have reached their highest development. In both of these, the unions, craft and industrial alike, have tried and failed to gain a real foothold. And Ford's plants, which are the very extreme of the system, are also, as the New Republic has recently pointed out, "the despair of union organizers." The movement toward mass production is the most significant tendency in American industry; these facts go far to corroborate Mr. Stroup's theory that the men who work under it are not "susceptible" to what he calls "the corrupting influences of unionism."

All this cuts sharply across the more optimistic theories of the friends of the unions. The latest of these has been worked out by Mr. Hamilton and Mr. May in The Control of Wages. Theirs also is a pragmatic theory directed toward the quite different but equally practical problem of raising wages. For this end, they rely on union organization as at least a major agency and on the improvement of industrial technique as one of the most promising methods. But apparently the improvements in technique which are most successful in increasing production are precisely the improvements that, so far at least, have been correlated with the break-up of unionism. And if the two are to be reconciled by resort to the theories of the industrial unionists, here also Mr. Stroup's article casts a serious doubt. Much of his argument has long been theirs. The "Onward Sweep of the Machine Process" was to brush aside the craft unions and set up industrial unionism in their stead. Mr. Stroup's facts suggest that the first half of the dogma is being fulfilled, but where is the proof of the second? So far the machine process has more often replaced craft unions with the open shop than with industrial unions.

Mr. Stroup's article is not a disproof of these theories, for, either in The Control of Wages or in the newer policies of certain unionists who are facing the problems of organization along industrial lines in clothing or elsewhere, there may be suggestions of a way out of the dilemma; but it is at least a sharp and searching challenge to them. And it is also an excellent stimulus to the realistic study of unionism. It is no longer quite as true as it was that the professed students of the subject do their work in blissful disregard of the industrial situation to which the unions are struggling to adjust themselves: Hoxie's study of scientific management focussed attention on the problem of changing technique, and Mr. Cole's two latest books, for example, throw a valuable light on "the power of adaptation" of the labor movement. But the problem of adaptation of union organization to the newer developments of American mass production has been neither faced in theory nor solved in practice. It remains for those who believe in unionism as strongly as Mr. Stroup disbelieves in it to work out a theory as practical and as realistic as his.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

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The German Tragedy

IT is not surprising that American public opinion is confused over the economic situation in Germany. Observers differ in prejudices, in temperament and in training, and often the superficial indices are thought to be fundamental. Perhaps still more baffling is the fact that conditions vary from one section of the country to another, and even within a given industry one company may be employing workers and increasing output, while another is discharging men and reducing production. Within a few weeks the general trend for the whole country suddenly shifts. Pictures of street scenes in Berlin taken two months ago could not be duplicated today.

In spite of this confusion it is quite possible to picture many of the general tendencies—a depressing task, for there is little ground for optimism. Here and there improvements in certain lines can be observed, but the trend is on the whole still downward. The future holds terrible possibilities. At the best there is ahead a period of business crisis and depression, while at the worst millions of people may be driven into semi- or complete starvation, with all that this condition may mean in such a country as Germany.

Generalizations must be carefully worded. There seems little reason for immediate concern over conditions in the rural districts, except as they may react on the urban population, which is in numbers the more important, some sixty percent of the total. In the cities also the facts vary, especially as one passes from the occupied and into the unoccupied area.

Everywhere, of course, certain allowances must be made. The nouveau riche, the profiteers, the reckless youth and the foreigner will spend freely. So long as the currency was depreciating their example was followed by everyone who had any money at all. Allowance must be made also for a greater freedom of purchase at the Christmas season, whose festivities mean so much in Germany. Nor should one be deluded by articles of luxury generously displayed (and sold) in occupied centres like Düsseldorf, where foreign officers and their wives are among the purchasers.

These groups are the minorities. What of the vast majority? How about German industries and transportation? What is the volume of unemployment? Are there any signs of a paralyzed economic life? So many have answered these questions that Americans now have little excuse for not understanding. On a recent trip the writer saw almost no freight trains moving either in the occupied or unoccupied areas and only a few factory chimneys smoking. An economic paralysis has crept over the country. In the Ruhr and the Rhineland there was a slight improvement, but so little that the situation is still extremely acute. According to the Oberbürgermeister of Cologne, between thirty and forty percent of the population of that city are still wholly or partially dependent. So recently as December 20 in Essen, a city of 470,000, there were 120,000 unemployed. With their families and other dependent groups this meant that seventy percent of the population lacked sufficient funds for self-support. While some of the industrialists in the Ruhr have recently added to the number of their employees, in Essen Krupps are discharging 13,000 or 14,000, about twenty-five percent of their working force.

In Berlin the streets are lighted with only 7,165 gas lamps and 681 electric lights, as compared with 44,303 and 1,373 respectively in 1914. Many estimates of unemployment are furnished, but the most conservative I received were from Dr. Brauns, Minister of Labor, who gave the numbers for December 1 in the unoccupied area as 1,447,000 totally unemployed and 1,825,000 on part time. For the occupied area he estimated the unemployed at 2,000,000, but would hazard no statement for the part time workers beyond saying that their numbers are large.

This list of evidences of distress could be lengthened, but so many writers present similar statements that they are mentioned merely to emphasize the observation that there is as yet no fundamental improvement. Even the gains in the Ruhr and Rhineland are to date very slight compared with the extent of the distress.

Yet one explanation should be made. One does not now see long lines of customers in the shops struggling to buy food, while prices advance by leaps and bounds. For several weeks there has been a "stabilization" of money. It is probably temporary, but while it lasts farmers and dealers have sold food more freely, and the visible supplies in the shops have increased. Probably there is no large amount in the warehouses and cellars, but there is a certain measure of relief. More grain and meat are in the cities for those fortunate ones who can afford to buy, although fats and milk are still lacking.

But purchasing power is scarce. Stabilization of wages on a so-called "gold" basis has meant a level in most cases below that of 1914—in many instances far below. The 1924 scale for Reich employees is from thirty to fifty percent below. Stabilization of prices, however, is far above the 1914 level. Thus even the employed worker is in a serious predicament. His real wages have been seriously reduced, and he is driven to a much lower living standard.

Yet he is fortunate, for he is employed and has some income. Millions are out of work. In part

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this is due to the reduced activities in the Ruhr and the shortage of fuel and raw materials everywhere. But to an important degree it is caused by stabilization. For several years thoughtful Germans have longed for but dreaded the time when inflation would cease. They knew it would mean a business crisis and subsequent depression. That crisis is now on. Its duration and extent no one can foresee.

Nor can anyone predict how serious the future will be. In the occupied areas political as well as economic considerations affect conditions. It is safe to say, however, that as yet the gains are but slight, and a layman can find little encouragement in the political news. However, the unexpected may happen. Germany has an abundance of physical equipment, plenty of fixed capital. She lacks working capital, liquid funds, and she also lacks credit with which to secure them from abroad. If the present strain could be relaxed recovery would probably come with great rapidity. But the restraints are still there.

But would recovery in the Ruhr aid the rest of Germany? Probably the Rhineland would gain, but there is little reason to expect relief for the unoccupied area. The "mantle" agreement between the German industrialists and the French, even if in full operation (which it is not) can at the best aid only the occupied areas and the occupying powers. No advantages are there for the rest of Germany.

Instead, there are serious dangers ahead. How much of a strain the German people can endure depends on their reserves—physical, economic and moral—and these reserves are low. What a breakdown would mean I do not know, but at least an increase in disease and a higher death rate—perhaps rioting, looting and bloodshed.

Not only are individual reserves low, but the country as a whole has little upon which to rely. Unless and until production is resumed, there is no community fund—no large social income in the hands of any groups upon which to draw. The industrialists may be immensely wealthy in fixed assets, but unless business revives they can get liquid funds (fuel, food, raw materials or cash) only by selling or mortgaging these assets. The farmers have some supplies of grain and meat—enough, it is generally said, to last the country until May, but no longer. The country as a whole is deficient in the reserves that would enable it to stand a prolonged strain.

This applies particularly to the government. Since about the middle of November it has been drawing upon its limited credits at the Rentenbank, but these are now exhausted and more have been refused. A harassed Minister of Finance is accordingly issuing Treasury bills, payable in Rentenmarks—a delicate distinction. As the market becomes surfeited with these they will probably be taken to the Reichsbank and pledged for loans, and the printing presses will once more be set to work.

It would be foolish to predict the exact form in which inflation will be resumed, but in December few could be found who did not expect it. Tax receipts were a little better, and the ratio of income to expenditures had slightly improved. I say slightly in spite of certain optimistic dispatches, for these cheerful statements apparently include only the ordinary running expenses, and omit reference to the backbreaking deficits from the railways and other sources. This important acknowledgment was made to the writer by a high official who had just been insisting that the government was meeting twenty to thirty percent of its expenses.

Government income can be secured only from a productive economic organization and as yet production is on the decline. Under the circumstances taxes can yield little, and borrowing at home means inflation. Large borrowing from abroad is for the present out of the question.

Even though reparations and other difficulties could be adjusted, German business must go through a crisis. Through years of inflation business failures have been few. England, the United States and other countries have gone through a period of liquidation. Germany, France and Italy have not done so. Some months ago the German bankers began the process of clearing out their weak accounts, and claim to have made great progress. If so, it is fortunate but amazing, and a tribute to German efficiency. If it is not so, then there are still many dark hours to come before the dawn of prosperity.

But an early revival depends upon the prompt adjustment of the dispute with the Allies, notably with France. Unquestionably improvement might be rapid if restraints were removed. The writer is not one of those incorrigible optimists who can see great progress already made. The fall of the franc, indications of unrest in France, the appointment of expert committees by the Reparation Commission, are hopeful signs, but no more.

These comments on the present situation have been a simple recital of facts as seen by the writer. But calmness of presentation does not mean a lack of feeling. A terrible tragedy is being enacted. To say that it is only a phase of the twentieth century industrial struggle makes it no less terrible. The health and probably the lives of millions are at stake. A truce between France and Germany would not immediately reach fundamental causes, but it would give an opportunity to those who see what is occurring to set in motion forces that will relieve the present tension. Then as time passes the underlying difficulties which are a part of our modern industrial civilization can gradually be reached. Under present conditions no progress can be made, but instead Europe is racing toward further disasters.

ERNEST MINOR PATTERSON.

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A Youth Movement in America

FOR more than thirty years the outstanding student gatherings of North America, both as to the number of college youth in attendance and number of institutions represented, have been the quadrennial Conventions of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions. Held once in a student generation, these meetings brought together the strongest of the coming Protestant Christian leadership of Canada and the United States, with full delegations from the colleges in every part of the country. In half a hundred countries today, serving through all the multifarious methods of the modern missionary enterprise, are literally thousands of men and women who in no small measure found at these great "Student Volunteer" Conventions the inspiration and stimulus to life service abroad—not to speak of the values experienced by the far larger number of stay-at-homes.

Naturally enough, with both Canada and the United States busy with the World War in 1918, it was impracticable to hold the convention which would normally have been due in January of that year. By 1920 North American youth were discovering themselves in the post-war period of disenchantment and self-assertion, and at the Des Moines convention of that year there were tokens of revolt. Clearly the prewar convention technique, both as to presentation of subject matter and as to the attitude of leaders to undergraduate thinking, no longer would meet the situation. No matter how delectable the diet, students refused to sit quietly any longer and be spoon-fed. They wanted to share in menu-planning and in the kitchen processes. The end of the period of the old-style conventions had come.

With something of this background the meaning of what happened at Indianapolis at the ninth convention recently concluded can be better understood. Again great numbers and wide representation (6,500 students and professors, from 709 institutions); again remarkable inspiration and purpose-forming—of these there can be no question. But the extraordinary thing about Indianapolis was that it did not leave in its wake a "repression complex," as did Des Moines. Students for once had had, in some measure at least, their innings, and had discovered how to find their way coöperatively into great problems.

During the long period of painstaking preparation for the Indianapolis Convention a considerable number of students from various institutions had been brought into the committees on program and arrangements, so that undergraduate thought had a chance to register at every step. It will be easily understood that the machinery of such a gathering is complex in the extreme, but the hand of the undergraduate truly shared in the management of this "quadrennial."

The scope of the program was enlarged until missionary matters shared attention with other themes, such as racial relations, industrial democracy, social reconstruction, and those international problems which lead to war. The earlier conventions had been slow in broadening the themes considered. In them, under the watchword, The Evangelization of the World in this Generation, the Christian approach to the non-Christian world was the subject discussed. At Indianapolis the unity of the world in respect to the need for spiritual uplift, moral guidance and Christian fellowship was implicit in well-nigh every utterance. No Asiatic student present—and there were many—need feel from any platform address that a holier-than-thou attitude on the part of the Nordic North American called for challenge. In fact the Asiatic and the African had their full chance to speak their minds and declare their racial places in and attitudes toward world affairs.

The outstanding achievement at Indianapolis, extraordinary and new, was the development on a vast scale of discussion by small groups, the results being subsequently integrated and brought to corporate expression before the whole convention.

On arrival at the convention city each student was requested to report at one of fifty group centres for the sessions devoted to discussion. A registration card number automatically indicated to what particular group the card holder was assigned, the system providing that as a rule no two students from any college should be in the same group. One group by some chance fell by the wayside, but forty-nine remained, averaging over one hundred students each, with Canadians, Americans, men and women, from north, east, south and west, whites, blacks and orientals, in almost every group. Each group had its leader, already experienced in discussion methods, and the leaders had been in conference together for two days before the convention opened.

The purpose was to secure the greatest freedom and frankness in student participation, and yet to follow such a procedure in the examination and comparison of facts and opinions as would give students the opportunity to do group thinking and to arrive at whatever conclusions of their own might be possible under all the limitations of time. When the students met for the first of the two-hour tilts, there was put on the blackboards as discussion starters questions such as these:

1. Should Negroes, Jews and others be admitted on a basis of equality into class rooms, dormitories, athletics, eating places, fraternities and social affairs?

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2. What should students do now about war? In case another war comes should a student refuse to take part?

3. What measures of force are justifiable in suppressing crime and immorality, in overthrowing opposing or dangerous beliefs in inter-class, inter-religious or inter-racial struggles? How about going to the length of terrorizing measures, such as hazing, lynching, etc.?

4. Can a Christian conscientiously engage in any life work on a profit basis? Without the incentive of competition for money, position or renown, can we count on the work of the world being effectively done?

5. Are we justified in imposing directly or indirectly western civilization or western Christianity on other peoples?

6. What part, if any, should students take in industrial conflicts?

7. What part should America take in European affairs?

Each group could choose any one of these problems, or some other question not listed. The leader's task was that of chairman, not of supervisor. His—or her—business was to make the discussion helpful through keeping order and direction in the discussion but in no wise to choose the subjects or to steer discussion to any predetermined conclusion. That some conclusion, whatever its nature, should be reached was regarded as desirable. And so the 6,000 delegates plunged into discussion.

Most of them almost by common consent reached for the race issue with which to grapple. War was the theme next in order of frequency of discussion. The racial issue in some form is on almost every campus, and students are only too well aware that in the event of a world war campuses will again be depopulated. These two subjects, therefore, not only came home but with respect to them student opinion might hope to have some weight.

At the close of the first session the issues had been defined, conflicting points of view had been recognized, and the students went away alert for the discovering of pertinent data. The second session was devoted to a search for ways of resolving conflicts, and reaching conclusions and for possible procedure in action.

After two discussion periods, with issues sharpened and convictions registered, the leaders, most of them students, and one additional elected representative from each group, met with the convention business committee one half of whom were students, to prepare a report to the convention as a whole. The experience of the forty-nine groups was pooled. Conclusions reached unanimously or by a majority of any group were called forth, and nominations made of possible student speakers to present to the convention various aspects of the problems discussed. Out of this process of integration came the plan for what was undoubtedly the greatest session of the convention.

In it four speakers presented various aspects of the race problem; four spoke on war and three on other issues which had been raised. The general conclusion reached in the discussion groups were reported. The power of these speakers was in part due to the fact that they were to interpret positions already arrived at in the discussion groups, not to argue fresh points in view. The addresses made had been prepared since the wee small hours of the very morning when they were delivered, and of the speakers not one had known the day before that he was to be one of the representatives of the discussion groups in the report meeting. The Negro speaker on race, for instance, was a native of Trinidad, now a student in the College of the City of New York, and entirely unknown to any of the convention leaders before his nomination in the caucus already referred to, when the plans were made for public report on the discussion results.

As represented in the reports from the groups the issues on the race question which emerged were in part these: What racial distinctions, if any, should be drawn? What is the meaning of the term "racial equality?" Can we let the fear of race fusion by marriage stand in the way of race equality? Is the tendency of race segregation Christian? Is parallel development a possible solution? To what extent is economics the basis of our race feeling? It may be noted that the discussions on race clustered primarily about the Negro problem rather than the Jewish or Japanese issues.

Nine of the groups were unanimously for no racial distinctions at all. Eight additional groups took this position by majority vote. Four of the groups unanimously and three others by a majority were in favor of no racial distinctions provided intermarriage was not involved. Two groups were unanimously in favor of no distinctions unless these were mutually agreed upon by the two races involved.

The following are representative of the proposals for action which were made in the groups, the suggestions being given in the wording of the stenographic record of the session in which the group discussions were reported to the convention:

Eliminate the "white superiority complex" which is ingrained in the children in primary schools; get various races together in groups on the campus for prayer, thought and fellowship; bring in leaders of other races to speak to and meet students; utilize every opportunity to become friends with members of other races whenever we meet them (this in some sections would involve visits to segregated areas). Oppose organizations working towards the attitude of racial superiority; work through journalism in every possible way to change the present feeling of the country. Begin tackling the problem by converting our own families. Work for breaking down of discriminations because of race in dormitories, societies, athletics, fraternities, churches, in college life generally; give money to support organizations which are working for these ends; promote education; do all we can for the inclusion in the curriculum of courses in history which present a fairer and more Christian attitude than those now given; be living examples of Christ's spirit in this matter whenever an issue appears;

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indulge in real thinking and study on the reasons for the present prejudiced attitudes; seek to right concrete racial wrongs and work together with those from other nations for the same great cause.

There had emerged from the groups a desire to register the convictions of the convention personnel as a whole on the war issues and these were stated as follows, some one student giving a strong presentation of the reasons for each position:

1. We believe that preparation for the emergency of war is the best way to avoid war, therefore we urge our nation so to prepare that any future war shall be brought to a speedy and righteous termination.
2. We believe that war is un-Christian and should be abolished through a process of education, but that non-resistance is now impracticable, and that occasion may arise wherein it is our duty to engage in war after all means of prevention have failed.
3. We believe that war is un-Christian and that the League of Nations is the best means of preventing it, but we should resort to war in case an unavoidable dispute had been referred to the League or World Court without successful settlement.
4. We believe that henceforth war is an utter denial of Jesus's way of life, and ineffective as a means of settling differences between nations. Therefore, we declare our resolve not to sanction or participate directly in any future war.

Conviction was expressed by uplifted hands, and the relative strength of the groups adhering to each position was unmistakable. The great majority were for the League and the World Court, next came war prevention through education, then absolute pacifism, and finally preparedness. The unofficial estimates of the votes made them 5,500, 4,000, 400 and 175. The first and second positions were not necessarily mutually exclusive, many voting for each. The expression of attitude toward pacifism, given after a finely dignified and well reasoned presentation by a Union Theological Seminary student, was especially interesting because unofficially and apart from the convention a series of meetings to promote this point of view had been attracting numbers of the delegates.

Without attempting the impossible through futile discussion by the convention as a massed whole, and without seeking in any way to coerce either the direction of discussion or the conclusions to be reached by the smaller groups the convention had found itself. It knew what it believed on the subject of war, and pretty much what it believed on the subject of race, and ways had been found for the effective expression of convictions held. Moreover, by count in the respective groups, about one half the delegates had shared in the discussions and had enjoyed, many of them for the first time, the satisfactions and values of challenge from minds of conflicting points of view and from other regions and of other races. For many, modifications of opinion occurred and new convictions were formed. The platform addresses by the notable speakers failed of full coördination with the discussions, but, nevertheless, the 6,000 delegates had been through a truly formative experience, one that will be repeated in lesser measure during the months ahead on a multitude of campuses. The convention was beyond peradventure only the beginning of widely distributed and significant processes.

CHARLES H. FAHS.

The Foreign Correspondent

MANY people nowadays are saying and writing many things about the origins of war. It seems rather surprising, therefore, that so little attention is paid to the rôle of the newspaper foreign correspondent in making or marring that international harmony which is one of the strongest safeguards for peace.

I refer, of course, to the special foreign correspondent of a single newspaper, who is stationed in one or another of the European capitals and sends back news articles to his paper by cable or by mail. The faults which I wish to criticize sometimes appear in the work of the press association correspondent, but more rarely. It is the man who represents one paper who is the greatest sinner.

It is not the intention of this article to cast any aspersions upon either the ability or the integrity of the general body of American correspondents overseas. After a personal experience of several years as a European observer, I am convinced that most of these men are conscientious and intelligent. The difficulty lies partly with a few exceptions to this rule, men who are violently prejudiced for or against (especially against) the League of Nations, for example, or for or against France, and color their dispatches with this prejudice until they are very untrustworthy reporters. Also, it lies with the newspaper editors at home. Either they demand that dispatches be written which support the editorial policy of their papers, or they tolerate such action initiated on his own account by the correspondent. There are, to be sure, plenty of responsible publishers who demand only of their correspondents that they tell the truth, irrespective of the paper's policy; but there are enough of the other sort, including the publishers of some highly influential papers with wide circulation, to justify one in taking this situation seriously.

On the whole, more blame must be placed on the correspondents in the field than on the editor at home. They have a tendency which also crops out sometimes among the Washington correspon-

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dents, to think always in terms of "stories which will please the editor" rather than to search for the truth from the point of view of informing the public. Unfortunately, many of the men now writing and handling the news from Europe which so seriously influences public opinion, and ultimately, the action of our government itself, are representatives of an era in journalism which is already passing, an era when professional standards were low, when such a thing as personal responsibility by the writer for the truth of his statements was less important than "producing copy which would get by;" and when, as a matter of course, every contributor to a paper felt he must trim his sails to the prevailing wind.

Even at best, the conditions under which the foreign correspondent works today are difficult. Paris, for example, is a city where the American newspaperman finds himself heavily handicapped. The French government has most of the press and nearly all the customary sources of information under its thumb. Every attempt is made both to make the French think America is on the side of M. Poincaré in his German policy, and to have news cabled to the United States which will in reality produce this result. The triumphal receptions of French generals in American cities are loudly proclaimed in the French press; and anything of an "unpleasant" character—for instance, Mr. Hughes's paragraph in his note to Curzon reserving the right to separate action if France did not accept the New Haven proposal—is carefully omitted.

In Wiesbaden, on the fourteenth of last July, I was astonished to see the Stars and Stripes hanging from the windows of the French army headquarters. It was grouped with the flags of France, Belgium, Italy and Great Britain, representing the Interallied High Commission of the Rhineland. We, of course, had not been a member of that commission, even by means of "an unofficial observer" for many months.

When former Commander Owsley of the American Legion came to Europe, the French government took charge of him the moment he got off the boat, deluging him with flattery and attentions, all of which were duly recorded in the French press. He was given an official reception worthy of a visiting sovereign in the Hotel de Ville in Paris; was whisked away to the Ruhr under the tutelage of French generals; and in Düsseldorf at French army headquarters, he was presented with the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor by General Degoutte himself, with regiments of French soldiers paraded in his honor. What could the poor man do but reply with courteous sentiments of admiration for the French? Yet what he said was heralded in the French press as the sentiment of the entire American Legion.

Editors, it seems to me, should refuse to permit their correspondents to accept decorations from foreign governments. Several of the best-known American correspondents whom I met in Europe this summer were wearing in their buttonholes the little red ribbon of the French Legion of Honor. This is given "for services to France;" it not only thanks for past assistance, but by the subtlest psychological ties binds one for the future. I know a fair minded magazine writer who had received that decoration and who refused to go into the Ruhr and the Rhineland because he did not wish to offend the French by writing of what he knew he should see there.

I recall two New York newspaper correspondents of high standing with whom I talked after they had made a quick tour of the Ruhr and Rhineland last summer, *not* under the guidance of French officers. They came out filled with indignation at the brutality with which the occupation was conducted. "But what can we do?" they added. "We dare not write of what we have seen. Our papers, and their readers in America are both pro-French."

Their experience reminded me of an incident just before I sailed for Europe last April. The editor of one of the largest eastern newspapers told my syndicate manager and myself over a festive luncheon table that he would not be interested in my series from the Ruhr if I were to talk to the German population. He stated frankly that his paper wanted to uphold the French side; and therefore it would accept material only from a correspondent who got his information from General Degoutte and the other French army officers there.

The failure of foreign correspondents to give impartial news is particularly apparent, and deplorable, in the case of the League of Nations. Whether you are for the League or opposed to it, you must agree, I think, that it is entitled to a fair hearing; yet this is exactly what it does not get from most of the American correspondents sending news from Geneva.

Some of the difficulty may be laid to the fact that those papers which are against the League are bitterly, almost poisonously so; while those which support it are lukewarm and half-hearted. More space and effort is devoted to it, in consequence, by its enemies than by its friends.

Probably most Americans know by now that a small group of Washington newspaper correspondents, early in the fight for ratification of the Treaty of Versailles, made up their minds that they would defeat it. Jocularly called "the black sheet gang" because of their habit of making carbon copies of their articles for one another's use, these gentlemen day by day during the months of debate kept up an unceasing effort to emphasize to the millions who read their newspapers everything bad about the Treaty, and to suppress everything in its favor. The situation at Geneva is not dissimilar from this.

A case in point is the handling of the Graeco-

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Italian dispute in Geneva last September. Whatever may have been felt on this side of the Atlantic, certainly ninety percent of the Americans, as well as everybody else in Geneva at the time, felt that the League came through the crisis with flying colors. Yet most American correspondents who cabled articles to their newspapers religiously refrained from indicating by so much as a syllable that this was the general impression.

There is, perhaps, some reason to forgive the correspondent stationed in Paris or some other European capital for sending out material with a partisan bias in favor of the country in which he is. After all, the correspondent who persistently sent out hostile matter would very soon find his sources of information becoming more and more meagre. This would not be true, of course, of the formal conferences between high government officials and the body of correspondents, which anyone may attend. But a good reporter cannot afford to possess only material which is common to all his fellows. He ought also to be in a position to secure confidential facts, to know what is going to happen days or weeks before it takes place. To maintain such a relationship it is almost imperative that he should become, to a greater or less degree, an apologist, if not a propagandist for the government.

But most of the correspondents at Geneva act on a policy the exact reverse of this. They do not take the trouble to seek those confidential sources of information which are open to them. Instead, acting either on their own or their papers' belief that the League is a negligible body, they concern themselves only in sending out every day the most derogatory material they can get.

I have described the situation: Is there a remedy for it? None, probably, which the correspondents themselves can control. Naturally, they are perfectly well satisfied with their own work, and see no reason to change it. It is probably too much to expect, also, that the newspaper proprietors are going to suffer a sudden change of heart. If American public opinion were sufficiently enlightened to demand impartial news in a manner which would reach the ear of the editor, this would certainly have a good effect. Whether this is likely to take place, I respectfully submit to the experts in social relationships.

CONSTANCE DREXEL.

"Patronize Your Own Church People"

FIFTEEN years ago in my home town there was an upstanding business man who went by the name of Brother Atkins. The phrase "go-getter" had not been coined at that time but if it had, Brother Atkins would have qualified. On week days he ran a big general store on Main Street: he was said to be one of the most successful business men in town, and certainly one of the best advertisers. On Sundays he conducted a Bible class at the First M. E. Church that was well attended by the young men of the town, and in good weather or bad at precisely a quarter past nine each Sunday morning Brother Atkins could be seen walking down West Street toward the church, his large, well-worn Bible under his arm, his derby hat set severely on the top of his head, his long Prince Albert coat tightly buttoned, and his gray trousers, which were large at the bottom like a sailor's, flapping as he walked.

In addition to his church and commercial activities Brother Atkins was an active member of the more decorous lodges, such as the Masons, Odd Fellows and Woodmen of the World. He did not belong to the Eagles or Elks, both of which maintained bars in their lodge headquarters, which certainly showed considerable principle on his part, because there were many good spenders in the Elk and Eagle organizations. But he exhibited commendable enterprise among the lodges of his choice, it being well known that on initiation nights he made it a point to be on hand to mix freely with the newly made members, always handing them his business card and cordially inviting them to call around at his store whenever they should need anything in his line.

Thus, by making the most of his lodge and church affiliations Brother Atkins built up a substantial trade and all might have been well to the end of the chapter except for the fact that on one unfortunate occasion he allowed his enterprise to run away with his judgment. It was just at the beginning of summer and getting hot; so hot in fact that church attendance was something of a burden. In those days men still wore uncomfortable stiff shirts and women wore corsets, and Brother Atkins planned to do his bit toward relieving the situation. One Sunday morning his store delivery wagon backed up in front of the M. E. Church and discharged a large box which was placed in the vestibule. Brother Atkins made a talk that morning to his Bible class on the Joy of Giving; and after Sunday School was over he conducted his students to the vestibule and opened the box which was then found to contain several hundred large palm leaf fans. He directed his young men to distribute these fans among the pews in the church auditorium, and this was done. They were really splendid palm leaf fans and just what was needed for the season. One side of each fan was blank but on the other side was printed:

"Atkins' Department Store, the Home of Advertised Goods, where Service is Uppermost. It

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is Your Duty to Patronize Your Own Church People."

But this advertising campaign failed dismally. Fifteen years ago people had not yet become so used to being told how they must spend their money, and especially they had not been trained to believe that to push business is the noblest work of man. After the morning service there was a meeting of the governing board of the church, at which Brother Atkins was severely condemned for his attempt to use the church for advertising purposes and his palm leaf fans were ordered removed. Nor did the matter end there. Brother Atkins was not especially popular among his brother storekeepers anyhow, and when the story of the unsuccessful enterprise spread up and down Main Street these men lost no time in using the situation for their own selfish ends, for the M. E. Church was the most prosperous congregation in town and all coveted the trade of its membership. Brother Atkins was held up to destructive ridicule wherever two or three storekeepers were gathered together. One of his competitors, who was a Catholic and a member of the Elks Lodge, went so far as to make a window display of a huge quantity of palm leaf fans accompanied by a placard stating that a fan would be given free to every purchaser no matter what the purchaser's religion might be. It was probably a jealous competitor, also, who gave Brother Atkins the nickname of Fan Atkins, afterward changed to Uncle Fanny. Brother Atkins's fortunes declined under this campaign of organized calumny and when one of his notes fell due at the Farmers' National Bank he was refused a renewal. He gave up his Sunday morning Bible class and, it was reported, tried to make new business connections by joining the Eagles, but was blackballed.

Less than a year after Brother Atkins made his overt attempt to force the trade of his own church people he went into hopeless bankruptcy. He left town, and the last heard of him was reported to be down south, still dressed in his Prince Albert coat and wide bottomed trousers, selling a guaranteed hair straightening preparation to Negroes from the back of a democrat wagon.

From a business standpoint the only trouble with Brother Atkins was that, like many another unfortunate genius, he was born ahead of his time. If he still lives he must be gratified to see the triumph of the principle for which he risked his all. Since Brother Atkins's active days we have made tremendous progress in bringing business and uplift together; so far have we gone, in fact, that in almost every successful selling campaign a little uplift has to be thrown in to make it effective. One has only to walk a few blocks in any retail district to see how the bargains in the show windows are made more attractive through the use of noble sentiments. It is no longer enough for the clothing dealer to state that Our Clothing Wears Well. Instead, he advertises, Wear Our Clothes and Be Thrifty. Service is also a word believed to be tremendously effective as a sales' help. Recently in a single block I counted no less than four shopkeepers who had gone so far as to have this precise sentiment painted in gold on their show windows: Service Above Self.

If Brother Atkins could have stayed in business until our entrance into the war it is likely his genius for "hooking up" his store with religion would have been rewarded and he might be a rich man today, president of his chamber of commerce and a leader in Boy Scout work. Before the war there was a certain demand for uplift in business, but it was not until 1917-18 that we began to demand it as part of our daily rations. Life was unbearable unless we could feel noble about something and we got the sensation by saving sugar, by buying four and a quarter percent tax-free bonds, and by bullying German-American citizens into Giving Until It Hurt.

This "dope" habit, acquired during the war, spread rapidly; for we had learned how much finer life is when we can go about our daily affairs, making money and feeling noble about something at the same time. The uplift workers created the demand for "dope" and business naturally fell into step to supply the market.

As a nation we are committed to the nobility habit just as we are committed to prohibition; and the enforcement machinery is better, for some of the best business brains of the country are constantly thinking up new ways to turn the habit to practical account. The old time saloon keeper who used to be pictured by the temperance lecturers as giving whiskey-soaked candy to little boys in order to create future customers was a clumsy amateur compared with many go-getter executives of the present who have found that soaking business in uplift boosts sales. A noble slogan is a splendid advertisement. "Hooking up" the sales campaign with a religious organization brings results. When the two can be combined the situation is ideal.

Out in a certain Indiana city they have invented a plan that for ingenuity and smooth working efficiency is especially to be recommended. The trade publications, giving it considerable space, state that it has wrought results beyond the dreams of its promoters. It is the annual Walk and Be Healthy Week, and its official sponsors are the local Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. This sponsorship in itself is rather a stroke of genius; for as anyone will realize, these sister organizations stand in the public mind for just the right mixture of religion and sturdy youth. Even the combined churches of the city could not give the Walk and Be Healthy Week such a background. For a considerable time in advance of the event the two "Y's" hold meetings where eloquent speakers stress the health value of walking, and the spiritual good to be obtained by getting out into God's Great Outdoors. The

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newspapers support the movement by liberal space in their news columns and by favorable editorial comment. The mayor puts the seal of authority on the Walk and Be Healthy Week by official proclamation. So well is the atmosphere worked up that even the street car company dares to enter no protest.

Who pays the bills? Ah, that's the secret! But as the trade publications make no bones of explaining the machinery of the campaign, it may as well be set down here. People wear out shoes when they walk out into God's Great Outdoors. The men behind the guns are the associated retail shoe dealers of the Indiana city.

In dollars and cents, the trade publications say, the annual Walk and Be Healthy Week is a huge success. One dealer reported an increase of sales amounting to forty-six percent last time it was pulled off. So successful has it been, in fact, that plans are now being laid in this community to have a week at the beginning of each summer during which time white kid and canvas shoes are to be put on the map. The trade publications do not reveal the identity of the religious or uplift organization that is to be chosen as ally, but we may be sure the right one will be found.

Chambers of commerce have shown considerable talent for getting into line with the prevailing thought, as anyone must know who travels by train or automobile. There are Friendly Cities, Square Deal Cities and Cities Where Service Prevails. Whenever a motion picture star in Hollywood gets into a scrape, a dozen go-getter cities are in the newspapers next day, each claiming the honor of being first to ban the unfortunate star's films.

It is hard for anyone on the outside to realize how we are constantly being pulled about by those who seek to do us good and sell us something at the same time. It has come to the point where there are not enough religious and uplift bodies to supply the demands of the various lines of business, and this leads to unseemly competition. As we have seen, the shoe dealers of an Indiana city appropriate the Y. M. C. A. as their own. Possibly the clothing dealers of that city have "hooked up" with the Presbyterians, the hardware dealers with the Baptists, and the ladies' ready-to-wear with the Jewish synagogue. Certainly it would be unfair if, with all the other congregations portioned out, the druggists should find themselves left out in the cold with only the Christian Scientists to work on.

As a deplorable matter of fact, business does not respect the rule of prior occupation, but steals its allies wherever it finds them. Probably no organization in history has been used for so many business purposes as the Y. M. C. A., with the Boy Scouts running a close second. There is, however, something of distinction; the "Y" is used mainly in actual selling campaigns, while the Scouts are more the prop of the semi-business organizations like the luncheon clubs, the chambers of commerce and the lodges.

To go into detail: The Y. M. C. A. is each year the background for the National Thrift Week, this being entirely proper inasmuch as the young men who live in the "Y" building thriftily save money by getting their room rent cheaper than elsewhere. With this background established, the banks push the Money in Bank Day, the grocers feature Pay Your Bills Day, and the purveyors of luxuries the Share It With Others Day. Later in the year when the mothers of the Country are pushed into the limelight by the stationery manufacturers, it is again the Y. M. C. A. that is supposed to be back of the movement to make Mother happy by sending her a handsomely engraved greeting card. In one recent instance when the laundry men of the country staged their National Laundry Week, the "Y" was quite naturally drawn into the movement under the slogan, Good Health and Good Appearance.

One bad deed leads to another; and the different lines of business that scramble so lamentably for the backing of uplift have come to an even more culpable practice. Not only do they steal each other's uplift organizations, but they pilfer each other's trade slogans. In a recently published list of fifty slogans used by as many different lines of business, exactly thirty-eight contained either Thrift or Service, and many, both.

Of course business would not do these things if the public did not demand them. It is precisely the same situation that used to prevail when the man who bought a suit of clothes expected to have a pair of suspenders thrown in. Now it is nobility instead of galluses. But it is only fair to issue a word of warning. We are a volatile people; and one of these days when the Y. M. C. A. and the noble slogans have been worked too much, there is likely to be a quick and terrible change. It is even possible that the forces driven to cover by the upheaval of 1917 may reassert themselves, strong and efficient from the hardships they have undergone. Instead of Thrift Weeks and Service the style may shift to the more rugged type of business enterprise: Buy a Bottle of Booze and Be Manly; or, Patronize Your Neighborhood Gambling House and Be Sporty.

If anyone does not like such a prospect he can do his simple bit toward heading it off. He can take his account away from any bank advertising that it welcomes deposits solely to encourage Thrift. He can stay out of the shops that say Service Above Self on the show window. He can refuse to stop for gasoline in the town that says it is a Square Deal community. He can get his daily "dope" by cracking a noble slogan on the head whenever he sees one.

JESSE RAINSFORD SPRAGUE.

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The Miracle

The Miracle, staged and created by Max Reinhardt, book by Karl Vollmoeler, Century Theatre, January 15, 1924.

THE Miracle taken as a theatrical event is one of the most conspicuous things that have been seen in our theatre for years. Beginning with the house itself transformed into the semblance of a Gothic cathedral and going on through the amazing management of crowds and the inexhaustible array of costumes and groups and movements, The Miracle is one long exercise of skill, energy and money. The distances and elevations of the theatre, of the stage itself and the auditorium, the resources of light and the multiplication and variety of events and motivations and incidents, are drawn upon their last possibility by practised hands. And there is a succession of scenes, handled with an energy and detail that astonish anyone almost and most of all a worker in Reinhardt's profession.

Taken as art, The Miracle does not fall so easily into place. The first scene up to the intermission seemed to me in many of its moments beautiful and moving. The columns rising in the cathedral choir, the statues, the people coming with their sorrows and supplications, the blind, the maimed, the halt, peasants, lords and every class, banners and pilgrims' branches and spears and halberds, under Mr. Geddes's lights and the color he laid on the masses and individuals there, all this had its great beauty and emotion. And the Madonna of Lady Diana Manners lent to the scene a gentleness and quietude and unchanging patient love.

After the first scene The Miracle seemed to me to grow less interesting and except perhaps for the mass triumphs of the mob scene, less achieved. To my mind the direction violated one of the simplest necessities for the security of effects in art; I mean that incident after incident arrived, entrance after entrance, movement after movement, before what was in hand had a chance to live itself, before it could flow out of its beginning and pass into what followed it. One thing piled on another until a kind of barbarism of interest began to be encouraged, mere multiplication. And motifs like, for instance, the death shadow with his dance, if they had ever a possibility of excitement and depth in them, lost everything by their suddenness or by the crowding of other motifs upon them. The story, partly for lack of this same security in duration of time, began to muddle itself; I began to grow indifferent to what happened; and the arrival of the coronation scene, done with such a volume of movement and costumes and properties, found me looking at the pangs and ironies enacted there with little interest at all; I watched it with less ardor or penetration than I might give to a circus number. I ceased to be moved; the nun's story flowed into Reinhardt's career and his astounding willingness to work in numbers and quantities; the grotesque and poignant world enacted seemed to me no longer concerned with its own life or power but loaded and vulgarized into a kind of theatrical exhibitionism.

Finally, what The Miracle most lacks is line, it needs to be more consummate. It is obvious that in general The Miracle intends to work its end in terms of crowds and immense quantities of color, invention, detail, a perpetual flux and heaping up and subsiding of characters, emotions, happenings and things. But a difference in the quantity of the material in which it works does not alter the principles involved nor lessen the need in a work of art for a final purity and certainty of intention. And however many or however few the people or incidents in The Miracle, they need to be forced into idea that is purer, more final, unescapable, and less confused. The scenes and the motives need constantly to be freer of what are not essentially their own characteristics. In fact the only two things in the evening that took hold of me securely and seemed consummate and pure were, for one thing, those beautiful slender columns rising into the mist of the choir and giving permanence and flight to the changing light that was sent among them. For the other, the procession in the first scene, the people, the suffering, the splendor of the banners, the tilted spears and lances; that—though it must be said that some of this is due to the very nature of a procession, which is these things—had throughout itself line and power and progression.

Mr. Norman-Bel Geddes's contribution to The Miracle exhibits an enormous energy and invention and variety, a robust independence and almost violence in choice, and a large technical talent. As a whole, nevertheless, I felt a certain crowding of mind in Mr. Geddes's idea as a whole, and sometimes a quality of sheer arbitrariness, as if for him, as for the directors, The Miracle often had no single and clear meaning or centre.

The acting in The Miracle presents, obviously, a very difficult problem. It is not drama but pantomime; and its importance as art will increase as it establishes a style that is not mere unspoken acting but is essentially pantomimic. The excuse for pantomime—as for any other art or kind of art—consists in the extent to which it expresses something that could not quite be expressed in any other way. To get without years of schooling, a group of actors who could do this, is plainly impossible. Nevertheless a fair excellence in this direction was achieved in The Miracle. The leading rôle, certainly lived superbly up to any requirements. Mr. Werner Krauss is a fine actor, with a fine style. Through the entire part of the Piper, who is the force of life itself, who is Pan, drawing toward happiness and finding grief and death, Mr. Krauss, apart from the magnificent mediaeval intensity of the moment of the healing, carried always a tortured irony, a dramatic precision and a kind of acrid poetry that should be at least a stylistic lesson on our stage. Mr. Schildkraut with a less marked style was admirable throughout. Miss Rosamond Pinchot has, of course, cruelly laid upon her a part which she cannot do and which few actresses even of more experience could touch either technically or in spiritual understanding; but in the lighter and more physically active moments of the rôle Miss Pinchot has sincerity and a young charm. All the acting individually, however, was secondary to the crowd action; and in the crowds the range of directing ability most appeared.

The Miracle is a remarkable milestone on our theatrical road. But every piece of art must in the end rise out of its special field and live itself with all art and all life. At present, so far as The Miracle is concerned, the necessity under it, the pressure out of which it arises, seems to me wholly a theatrical one. It has ability, effort, opulence; but the living substance of it is managed, marvellously engineered; there is no hurt, no finality, no inevitable hunger, no wound. The Miracle to be great art needs behind it some unifying necessity or spiritual passion, the sense of something through it that is believed.

STARK YOUNG.

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Mentis Trist

Never fear the phantom bird
Meditating in the Fens;
Night will come and quench your eyes,
Blind at last like other men's;
Never fear the tales you heard
In the rhetoric of lies.

Nothing here will challenge you,
Not the heron, tall and white,
Countersign upon the edge
Of the waterfall of night.
This is Avalon's canoe,
Eden murmurs in the sedge.

Here. My hand in pledge of rest.
Drift at random, all is well.
Twilight is a slow lagoon,
Dark will be a citadel.
Travellers who know the west
But report the waning moon.

In the citadel of peace
Hang the trophies of the world,
Yet no barons don their mail,
And no pennant is unfurled.
Daily robe, the Golden Fleece,
Daily cup, the Holy Grail.

ROBERT HILLYER.

Love Song

The delicate silver gates are closed, the road ahead is paved with swords,
There's only the comfort of your breast, the arm's strength, and gentle words
To meet the foam of the black stars a stinging wind flings in our faces;
A bare room is the day's end, and a hard bed for our bodies' places.

The tired limb, and the tight brow, and the strong clasp of a hand hardened—
Only these, now the rose has gone, one with the years that life pardoned
When your blue eyes that love deepened were more merry and less brave,
Only these are ours, my dear, for what we give and what we gave.

Yet only now that our eyes have seen there is no star on the hills ahead
To guide through the ways that all have known, yet none could mark, of men dead—
O only now, my dear, have we known the sole answer to love's need:
The heart's dream, and the heart's strength, and the light shed where the feet bleed.

GEORGE BRANDON SAUL.

CORRESPONDENCE

American Responsibility for French Policy

SIR: In your editorial Militarism—An 'Implacable Necessity' you ascribe to Mr. Filene's remarks an interpretation which, it seems to me, by no means follows. Instead of his declaration "If I were a Frenchman, I should have supported Poincaré's foreign policy" being "a vivid illustration of the major reason for the failure up to date of agitations for peace" in that it encourages Frenchmen in the assertion of "the existence of an 'implacable necessity' on their part to subjugate Germany," rather does this statement of Mr. Filene's bring out in high relief the inevitable result of America's shortsighted policy of withdrawal from Europe.

We can all sympathize with France's life and death desire for security with a conceived potential enemy population half again larger than her own numbers. When we adopted the isolationist policy which we did, it was only human nature for France to turn to the only practical security which she, together with all the other organized peoples of the world, knew existed. And our military friends are strong in their statement that you can't change human nature. Human nature in the sense of man's original nature perhaps cannot be changed, but human nature in its control of and expressions of the instincts and desires of original nature can certainly be and is constantly being changed by the forces of the social environment. The problem therefore is to create a social environment through concerted international action which will make feasible the substitution of law for war in fact rather than in fancy.

Towards this end the World Court is but a step, as it aims to deal solely with juridical disputes as between nations. An instrument for handling non-juridical disputes, and forsooth for best effecting an economic embargo, is the existing handicapped League of Nations. The League is no longer to be confused with the Treaty of Versailles, for surely you must be aware, as Lord Robert Cecil has suggested, that we can enter the League free from any entanglements in carrying out that Treaty and practically free to correct its errors and injustices on our own terms.

Mr. Filene is not the only practical peace advocate sponsoring such views. May I call your attention to a late address by Mr. J. Henry Scattergood, a member of the Friends Service Committee, before the Institute of Politics in Williamstown, Massachusetts, last August, printed in The Christian Register for September 6, 1923, and since reissued in pamphlet form?

W. RUSSELL TYLOR.

Galesburg, Illinois.

[The statement of Mr. E. A. Filene's to which we objected was that if he were a Frenchman he would have supported the policy of the French government in occupying the Ruhr. The statement must mean that in his assumed rôle of Frenchman he would believe both in the probable success of the Poincaré policy in bringing security to France and, under the circumstances, in its moral justifiability. Well, it is possible to allege many plausible reasons in favor of what France is doing, but we do not see how such reasons help Mr. Filene's case. For we cannot understand how an advocate of peace can accept reasons of this kind without betraying his pacifist convictions. They are derived from the stock apology of the militarists of all ages and countries—the argument that a nation with a preponderance of military power has the right and the ability to assure its security by taking away the security of its neighbors. The result of the French adventure may for a while seem to justify this argument but if such is the event there will thereafter be obviously only one possible method of pacifying Europe—the method which the opponents of Germany attributed to her in August, 1914.

Professor Tylor, like Mr. Filene, imputes responsibility for the selfish violence of French policy to the American rather than to the French nation. We should have guaranteed the security of France and so rendered unnecessary the attack on Germany. There would have been something to say in favor of such an imputation of responsibility if the French government had ever offered to exchange a conciliatory policy towards Germany, which would have permitted that country to regain its economic strength and to pay reparations, in return for an American guar-

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antee of French security. But France has never offered such a bargain. Ever since the Armistice it has wanted to have it both ways. It has pursued systematically a policy which could only result in the economic and political subjugation of Germany, and it negotiated in Paris a Treaty of Peace which could be used as the instrument of that purpose. Yet at the same time it demanded a guarantee. If under such conditions the American nation guaranteed French security, it would be pledging American resources to protect France against the consequences of her own egotistic violence.

According to the terms of the Triple Alliance to which M. Clemenceau pursuaded Messrs. Wilson and Lloyd George to consent, the English-speaking nations were to protect France against an unprovoked attack from Germany. But the policy of the French government towards Germany since the Armistice has assumed a character which according to the principles approved by Mr. Filene, which underlie the Poincaré policy, would have been considered not merely a provocation to attack but a complete justification of it. For France has behaved as if Germany and herself were engaged in an irreconcilable struggle from which only one could survive as a united and independent commonwealth. Every reason which would justify Mr. Filene in saying that if he were a Frenchman he would support M. Poincaré would justify him equally in saying that if he were a German he would become a captain in Ludendorff's imaginary army. Should such reasoning be justified there is nothing for sensible Frenchmen and Germans to do but to cut one another's throats.

The problem is, as Professor Tylor says, to create a social environment through concerted international action which will be favorable to the substitution of law for war, but the guarantee by the United States of French security would not contribute to the creation of such an environment. That is, it would not do so unless France were willing in exchange for the guarantee to abandon those articles in the Treaty which give her a strangle hold on Germany. But she has never offered any such bargain, and those Americans, like Mr. Filene, who would favor the guarantee have never stipulated that she must. The guarantee, as it has been proposed, merely provides an American and English shelter behind which France can safely pursue her designs against the unity and liberty of the German nation.

No society of nations is possible in Europe until France abandons her present policy of which the Ruhr occupation is the culminating act; and she can justify the policy on the score of implacable necessity only on the pretext that French security is more important in the eyes of a final arbiter than that of Germany or any other country. She is for the moment the dominant military power in Europe and her behavior is the decisive fact in the moral and political condition of that continent. She appealed for aid during the war on the ground that she was fighting for the general international welfare as well as her own safety. Yet after a victory obtained by the help of peoples who accepted this assurance she relentlessly pursues a policy which is disastrous to the general international welfare. If Germany were victorious, it would have been difficult for her to treat France more barbarously and with less regard for the interests of "civilization" than France is treating Germany. Unless other peoples recognize this truth and unless in one way or another they induce France to recognize it and abandon her policy, any plans for international appeasement or the substitution of law for war are fantastic impossibilities.—THE EDITORS.]

"Self-Education for Scientists"

SIR: The admixture of misstatement, platitude and flippancy composing the editorial article, characteristically named Self-Education for Scientists, in your issue of January 16, is unbecoming to a journal such as the New Republic. The two-column article continues in the style in which it begins, namely:

> The American scientist appears to be least scientific in those annually recurrent periods when he is conscious of being a member of a scientific society. He exhorts everyone to adopt the scientific attitude throughout the year and then for the space of a short week between December 26 and January 1 he sloughs off his scientific predilections and reverts to Rotarian habits. Nothing could be less scientific than an annual meeting in a scientific society.

Such an article is reminiscent of the kind of thing the local daily press used to print thirty years ago. In recent years there has been great improvement. The Cincinnati meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and its affiliated societies, which gave occasion for your trivial comments, was admirably reported throughout the country. Leading papers of New York City sent special correspondents and devoted many columns to telegraphic reports. This is as it should be. Our civilization is based on science. You tell your readers: "Science is a tentative (*sic*) hypothesis." Science has quadrupled the productivity of labor; it has doubled the length of life; it has made possible democracy, universal education and equality of opportunity; it has given us the truest faith and the finest art. Do you not know that? J. MCKEEN CATTELL.

New York City.

[Our article to which Professor Cattell takes exception was not intended to belittle the place of science in modern life; nor do we believe it is fairly susceptible of that interpretation. Its sole purpose was to point out the inefficient and therefore unscientific manner in which the meetings of scientific organizations are, in general, conducted.—THE EDITORS.]

KDKA Speaking

SIR: We well may view with awe the wonders of radio, which last night brought to my study from Pittsburgh, Pa., over KDKA (studio of the Pittsburgh Press) a message which should not vanish in the thin air which carried it over mountain, stream, city and lake to me. It was the peroration of a man whose name I didn't catch but who was announced as a former commissioner of agriculture (I think) of Ohio.

"One country; one flag; one religion; one wife; and TWO political parties." OLIVER S. MORRIS.

St. Paul.

Housekeeping Plus Teaching

SIR: Your article, Extending the Teacher's Tenure, interested me, because I am a teacher, and have found it practicable and profitable to carry out an *extension of tenure,* along the lines you suggest.

Two years after an A.B. from a well known woman's college, I married. Within four years, two fine boys had appeared. When the younger was a year old, I found it possible, since we lived near a college, to secure a master's degree with a year of non-resident work. All the studying was accomplished at home, and attendance at seminaries required but nine hours a week. The earning capacity of my husband enabled me to hire efficient help in the house, and this fact is obviously to be taken into account.

The result of the year's work was a $1,200 fellowship from a Foundation, for a year's study abroad. With the two sons and a nurse, a nine months' stay in a foreign capital was found to abound in interest and adventure. As my husband was travelling on business in America during a large part of this period, the difficult separation, it was believed by both of us, took place at an opportune time.

Upon my return, I obtained a good position as a teacher in a private school for girls, at an excellent salary, which, added to my husband's earnings, enables the family to travel in Europe or invest! Free at three o'clock, I can devote the afternoon to my children, who are in school themselves until that hour. On the wages of last year, the two boys and I spent three months together in Europe.

It does not seem to us that the children have suffered or are now suffering from this sort of maternal régime. They are happy, healthy, normal—a year under the average age in their grades, and they head their classes. Nor has my husband felt abused or deprived of conjugal society. My working hours make no conflict with his free time. In this respect a teaching job is an ideal one for a married woman, who wants to be active.

In brief, I find myself fulfilling my capacities, serving the community in two fundamental ways, and producing welcome dollars. With such a rounded program, a woman exists as an individual and as a factor in the social group. I advise others to try it, who find domesticity alone not satisfying. It's superfluous to add that criticism and gossip have been abundant.

Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania. ROSALIE.

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Jane, How Shall We Ever Recollect?*

I AM a Jane Austenite, and, therefore, slightly imbecile about Jane Austen. My fatuous expression, and airs of personal immunity—how ill they set on the face, say, of a Stevensonian. But Jane Austen is so different. One's favorite author! One reads and rereads, the mouth open and the mind closed. Shut up in measureless content, one greets her by the name of most kind hostess, while criticism slumbers. The Jane Austenite possesses none of the brightness he ascribes to his idol. Like all regular churchgoers, he scarcely notices what is being said. For instance, the grammar of the following sentence from Mansfield Park presents no difficulty to him:

> And, alas! how always known no principle to supply as a duty what the heart was deficient in.

Nor does he notice any flatness in the second chapter of Pride and Prejudice:

> "Kitty has no discretion in her coughs," said her father; "she times them ill."
> "I do not cough for your amusement," replied Kitty fretfully. "When is your next ball to be, Lizzy?"

Why should Kitty ask what she must have known? And why does she say "your" ball when she was going to it herself? Something is amiss in the text; but the loyal adorer will never detect it. He reads and rereads. And this fine new edition has, among its other merits, the great merit of waking the Jane Austenite up. After reading its notes and appendixes, after a single glance at its illustrations, one will never relapse again into the primal stupor. Without violence, the spell has been broken. The six princesses remain on their sofas, but their eyelids quiver and they move their hands. Their twelve suitors do likewise, and their subordinates stir in the seats to which humor or propriety assigned them. The novels continue to live their own wonderful internal life, but it has been freshened and enriched by contact with the life of facts.

To promote this contact is the chief function of an editor, and Mr. Chapman fulfills it. All his erudition and taste contribute to this end—his extracts from Mrs. Radcliffe and Mrs. Inchbald, his disquisitions on punctuation and travel. Even his textual criticism helps. Observe his brilliant solution of the second of the two difficulties quoted above. He has noticed that in the original edition of Pride and Prejudice the words "When is your next ball to be, Lizzy?" began a line, and he suggests that the printer failed to indent them, and, in consequence, they are not Kitty's words at all, but her father's. It is a tiny point, yet how it stirs the pools of complacency. Mr. Bennet, not Kitty, is speaking, and all these years one had never known! The dialogue lights up and sends little sparks of fire into the main mass of novel. And so, to a lesser degree, with the sentence from Mansfield Park. Here we emend "how always known" into "now all was known;" and the sentence not only makes sense but illumines its surroundings. Fanny is meditating on the character of Crawford, and, now that all is known to her, she condemns it. And finally, what a light is thrown on Jane Austen's own character by a collation of the two editions of Sense and Sensibility. In the 1811 edition we read:

> Lady Middleton's delicacy was shocked; and in order to banish so improper a subject as the mention of a natural daughter, she actually took the trouble of saying something herself about the weather.

In the 1813 edition the sentence is omitted, in the interests of propriety: the authoress is moving away from the eighteenth century into the nineteenth, from Love and Friendship towards Persuasion.

Texts are mainly for scholars; the general attractions of Mr. Chapman's work lie elsewhere. His illustrations are beyond all praise. Selected from contemporary fashion plates, manuals of dancing and gardening, tradesmen's advertisements, views, and plans, etc., they have the most wonderful power of stimulating the reader and causing him to forget he is in church; incidentally, they purge his mind of the lamentable Hugh Thompson. Never again will he tolerate "illustrations" which illustrate nothing. Here is the real thing. Here is a mezzotint of The Encampment at Brighton, where the desires of Lydia and Kitty mount as busbies into the ambient air. Here is the soul of Sotherton in the form of a country house with a flap across it. Here is Jane Fairfax's Broadwood, standing in the corner of a print that carries us on to Poor Isabella, for its title is Maternal Recreation. Here are Matlock and Dovedale as Elizabeth hoped they would be, and Lyme Regis as Anne saw it. Here is a Mona Marble Chimneypiece, radiating heat. Mr. Chapman could not have chosen such illustrations unless he, too, kindled a flame—they lie beyond the grasp of scholarship. And so with the rest of his work; again and again he achieves contact between the life of the novels and the life of facts—a timely contact, for Jane Austen was getting just a trifle stuffy; our fault, not hers, but it was happening.

The edition is not perfect. Pedantry sometimes asserts itself; when Persuasion was published with Northanger Abbey, in 1818, its title did not appear on the back; but why should the inconvenience be perpetuated in 1923? And there is one really grave defect: Love and Friendship, The Watsons, and Lady Susan have all been ignored. Perhaps there may be difficulties of copyright that prevent a reprint of them, but this does not excuse their almost complete omission from the terminal essays. There are many points, both of diction and manners, that they would have illustrated. Their absence is a serious loss, both for the student and for the general reader, and it is to be hoped that Mr. Chapman will be able to issue a supplementary volume containing them and all the other scraps he can collect. There exist at least two manuscript-books of Jane Austen. The amazing Love and Friendship volume was extracted out of one of them; what else lies hidden? It is over a hundred years since the authoress died, and all the materials for a final estimate ought to be accessible by now, and to have been included in this edition.

Yet with all the help in the world, with a fine edition like Mr. Chapman's and the best of literary criticism to our aid, how shall we drag these shy, proud books into the centre of our minds? To be one with Jane Austen? It is a contradiction in terms, yet every Jane Austenite has

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* The following articles by E. M. Forster and Virginia Woolf were written upon the occasion of the publication by the Oxford University Press of R. W. Chapman's edition of the Novels of Jane Austen, in Five Volumes. (New York. $35.00.)

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made the attempt. When the humor has been absorbed and the cynicism and moral earnestness both discounted, something remains which is easily called Life, but does not thus become more approachable. It is the books rather than the author that seem to elude us—natural enough, since the books are literature. "Dear Jane, however shall we recollect half the dishes?" For though the banquet was not long, it has never been assimilated to our minds. Miss Bates, it will be remembered, received no answer to her portentous question; her dear Jane was thinking of something else. The dishes were carried off before she could memorize them, and Heaven knows now what they contained!—strawberries from Donwell, perhaps, or apricots from Mansfield Rectory, or sugar-plums from Barton, or hot-house grapes from Pemberly, or melted butter from Woodston, or the hazel nuts that Captain Wentworth once picked for Louisa Musgrove in a double hedgerow near Uppercross.

E. M. FORSTER.

Jane Austen at Sixty

ANYBODY who has had the temerity to write about Jane Austen is aware of two facts: first, that of all great writers she is the most difficult to catch in the act of greatness; second, that there are twenty-five elderly gentlemen living in the neighborhood of London who resent any slight upon her genius as if it were an insult offered to the chastity of their aunts. It would be interesting, indeed, to inquire how much of her present celebrity Jane Austen owes to masculine sensibility; to the fact that her dress was becoming, her eyes bright, and her age the antithesis in all matters of female charm to our own. A companion inquiry might investigate the problem of George Eliot's nose; and decide how long it will be before the equine profile is once again in favor, and the Oxford Press celebrates the genius of the author of Middlemarch in an edition as splendid, as authoritative, and as exquisitely illustrated as this.

But it is not mere cowardice that prompts us to say nothing of the six novels of the new edition. It is impossible to say too much about the novels that Jane Austen did write; but enough attention perhaps has never yet been paid to the novels that Jane Austen did not write. Owing to the peculiar finish and perfection of her art, we tend to forget that she died at forty-two, at the height of her powers, still subject to all those changes which often make the final period of a writer's career the most interesting of all. Let us take Persuasion, the last completed book, and look by its light at the novels that she might have written had she lived to be sixty years old. We do not grudge it him, but her brother the Admiral lived to be ninety-one.

There is a peculiar dullness and a peculiar beauty in Persuasion. The dullness is that which so often marks the transition stage between two different periods. The writer is a little bored. She has grown too familiar with the ways of her world. There is an asperity in her comedy which suggests that she has almost ceased to be amused by the vanities of a Sir Walter or the snobbery of a Miss Elliott. The satire is harsh, and the comedy crude. She is no longer so freshly aware of the amusements of daily life. Her mind is not altogether on her subject. But, while we feel that Jane Austen has done this before, and done it better, we also feel that she is trying to do something which she has never yet attempted. There is a new element in Persuasion, a quality, perhaps, that made Dr. Whewell fire up and insist that it was "the most beautiful of her works." She is beginning to discover that the world is larger, more mysterious, and more romantic than she had supposed. We feel it to be true of herself when she says of Anne: "She had been forced into prudence in her youth, she learned romance as she grew older—the natural sequel of an unnatural beginning." She dwells frequently upon the beauty and the melancholy of nature. She talks of the "influence so sweet and so sad of autumnal months in the country." She marks "the tawny leaves and withered hedges." "One does not love a place the less because one has suffered in it," she observes. But it is not only in a new sensibility to nature that we detect the change.

Her attitude to life itself is altered. She is seeing it, for the greater part of the book, through the eyes of a woman who, unhappy herself, has a special sympathy for the happiness and unhappiness of others, which, until the very end, she is forced to comment upon in silence. Therefore the observation is less of facts and more of feelings than is usual. There is an expressed emotion in the scene at the concert and in the famous talk about woman's constancy which proves not merely the biographical fact that Jane Austen had loved, but the aesthetic fact that she was no longer afraid to say so. Experience, when it was of a serious kind, had to sink very deep, and to be thoroughly disinfected by the passage of time, before she allowed herself to deal with it in fiction. But now, in 1817, she was ready. Outwardly, too, in her circumstances, a change was imminent. Her fame had grown very slowly. "I doubt," wrote Mr. Austen Leigh, "whether it would be possible to mention any other author of note whose personal obscurity was so complete." Had she lived a few more years only, all that would have been altered. She would have stayed in London, dined out, lunched out, met famous people, made new friends, read, travelled, and carried back to the quiet country cottage a hoard of observations to feast upon at leisure.

And what effect would all this have had upon the six novels that Jane Austen did not write? She would not have written of crime, of passion, or of adventure. She would not have been rushed by the importunity of publishers or the flattery of friends into slovenliness or insincerity. But she would have known more. Her sense of security would have been shaken. Her comedy would have suffered. She would have trusted less (this is already perceptible in Persuasion) to dialogue and more to reflection to give us a knowledge of her characters. Those marvellous little speeches which sum up in a few minutes' chatter all that we need in order to know an Admiral Croft or a Mrs. Musgrove forever, that shorthand, hit-or-miss method which contains chapters of analysis and pyschology, would have become too crude to hold all that she now perceived of the complexity of human nature. She would have devised a method, clear and composed as ever, but deeper and more suggestive, for conveying not only what people say, but what they leave unsaid; not only what they are, but (if we may be pardoned the vagueness of the expression) what life is. She would have stood further away from her characters, and seen them more as a group, less as individuals. Her satire, while it played less incessantly, would have been more stringent and severe. She would have been the forerunner of Henry James and of Proust—but enough. Vain are these speculations: she died "just as she was beginning to feel confidence in her own success."

VIRGINIA WOOLF.

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Behind the Constitution, and Beyond

The Constitution of the United States: An Historical Survey of Its Formation, by Robert Livingston Schuyler. New York: The Macmillan Company. $1.50.

The American Constitution as it Protects Private Rights, by Frederick Jesup Stimson. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.50.

THESE two books invite reflection on the differences and resemblances between conflicts over the Constitution as it was in the beginning and conflicts over the Constitution as it is now. Much that the framers wrestled over we now accept pretty much as matters of course. On the whole we are fairly content with the partition of powers between the states and the nation. Occasional wails at "federal usurpation" are due more to a desire to be let alone than to an affection for state authority. Though we point with retrospective superiority to Old Sarum we accept uncomplainingly the solemn compact which forever gives Nevada as many senators as New York. Aaron Burr provoked us to a bit of minor surgery on the Fathers' device for choosing the President but for over a century we have tolerated malformations which only a major operation could cure. Though most of the rest of the world has rejected our disjunction of the executive and the legislature, we still cling to it and find our way around its disadvantages as best we can. A national election seldom gives us a clear verdict on any national issue, but somehow we muddle along. Laments that minorities block the desires of majorities are matched by laments that minorities force their positive programs upon us. The Fathers debated and made their compromises, and for the most part we acquiesce and debate no more. Our current quarrels are concerned with economic issues which find their counterpart not in the constitutional convention but in the succeeding struggle over ratification.

When the message of a President deals mainly with ships and railroads and fertilizers, a soldiers' bonus, relief for farmers and reduction of taxes, it should not be impious to suspect that government at its beginning took thought of similar practicalities. Yet until lately this economic aspect of the framing and ratification of the Constitution received slight attention. With balanced judgment and sure scholarship Mr. Schuyler gives it due place beside the elements with which school boys are more familiar. From contemporary testimony he shows how much the movement for the Constitution owed to aversion to paper money and to laws for the relief of debtors. He points out that the so-called compromises of the Constitution have been overemphasized by the writers who have fixed their eyes mainly on the debates over the framework of the government.

> The convention technically represented the whole American people, but it actually reflected the opinions of one of the two parties into which the people were at that crisis divided. The disputes in the convention, the occasions for compromise, were many, but most of them arose over questions essentially political. If one approaches the work of the convention from the point of view of government and political science, he will naturally be impressed by its compromises. But on the great economic questions at issue between debtor and creditor, farmer and merchant, there was little need for compromise, for there was little disagreement among the delegates.

So it was that limitations on the states with respect to issuing bills of credit and impairing the obligation of contracts went into the draft of the Constitution with little debate. Debate came later on the hustings and in the ratifying conventions, where the alignment of different economic groups was marked. Singularly perhaps, those who most objected to these restrictions on the states were critical of the absence of constitutional restrictions on the new national government to be created. They feared unlimited federal power as the proponents of the new government feared unrestrained state power. Viewed abstractly there was agreement that government should be subject to constitutional restrictions on behalf of individual liberty and property. Viewed concretely there was wide difference of opinion as to the ends which such limitations should serve. It mattered much whose ox was gored.

To guard against misapprehension from singling out this element in Mr. Schuyler's essay, it should be said that he has not overemphasized it but has given a well-rounded account of the experience under the Articles of Confederation and of the movement culminating in the organization of the government under the Constitution. Though made up of lectures originally delivered to British audiences at Cambridge University and the London School of Economics, his volume is equally suited to American readers who wish to see our constitutional beginnings in proper perspective. In these days when political fundamentalists are promoting the Adam and Eve variety of constitutional history, it is gratifying to have this discriminating and trustworthy essay which pursues admirably its declared object "neither to idealize nor to depreciate the work of the Fathers but to describe it, in its historical setting, as a human achievement which has not grown less significant with the passing of the years." This scholarly attitude contrasts somewhat with that of Mr. Stimson, who indulges frequently in the hortatory and the denunciatory and who is prone to substitute abstract idealizations for the concrete realities that every litigant knows. The right to law, the right to liberty, equality before the law, and similar conceptions stalk through his pages with too little indication of the vital human interests which contest for varying interpretations thereof. Ancient English struggles against the Crown are referred to frequently without adequate note of the differences between the issues then and those which come before our Supreme Court today. Notwithstanding the useful resumé of Supreme Court interpretations of our constitutional concepts of liberty and equality and the interesting classification and charting of constitutional clauses to show the respective powers of state and national governments and the several limitations thereon, the reader is likely to leave the volume with a hazy impression of an ideal liberty somehow realizing itself to an assumed general satisfaction.

Instead of telling us that the Supreme Court arbitrates economic conflicts with no other guide in the Constitution than the authority to arbitrate, Mr. Stimson talks of "permanent written orders" and the "permanent will of the people" which the legislatures sometimes transgress. His abstention from any acute analysis of the nature of the judicial process is hardly excusable after Judge Cardozo's revealing essay. Equally disappointing is the slight attention given to exposition of the practical situations and conflicts with which modern legislation deals. The preface tells us that "this book treats of the Constitution solely on what may be called its human side" and it refers to the "need of a simple essay of the sort, not a law-book but

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a treatise for ordinary citizens." It seems fair, therefore, to judge the effort by this standard. A human treatment of the Constitution would necessarily outline the present day methods of industry and trade, the forces behind regulatory legislation, the philosophical and economic tenets of individual Supreme Court Justices, and would attempt some realistic analysis of the actual operation of our peculiarly American enterprise of judicial control over legislation. It would hardly say that "this system has been the envy and the marvel of the civilized world" when the civilized world has shown so little disposition to copy it. "The American Constitution as it protects private rights" raises contentious issues today as it did when it was before the state conventions for ratification. Whether such issues should remain constitutional issues or become merely legislative ones as they are in most of the rest of the world is a question on which we need all the light that is available. Mr. Stimson gives us learning and law and a sort of philosophy, but he leaves us impressed with the need for other lenses than those through which he looks.

THOMAS REED POWELL.

The Color of a Great City

The Color of a Great City, by Theodore Dreiser. New York: Boni and Liveright. $3.50.

THE "color" of an object is necessarily affected by the medium through which it is seen. The color of a great modern town, when viewed through the twin lenses of poverty and pity, is pretty sure to be drab. The color of a wide river, if taken with an eye primarily on the sediment at its bottom, will be that of mud. A vast metropolitan area, if painfully transformed into a field for sociological observation and comment, will turn dim and lustreless. So, much of the time, with Mr. Dreiser's book.

This is a collection of about two-score brief papers, most of which where produced some fifteen or twenty years ago, under straitened conditions which are unaffectedly acknowledged. The author's worldly fortunes, as well as his early professional activities, held him among humanity's lower strata. Poverty and pity focussed his vision on the under-dog—the tenement-dweller, the longshoreman, the tough, the pushcart-man, the derelict, the "bum." The sharp protest against social injustice, the puzzled wonder at the wide range of social inequalities—these are active, or latent, on almost every page. All this it is which gives the "color" to the "great city." It is Dreiser's color; his own—not yours or mine.

How odd, it strikes one as he looks through the present volume, that Theodore Dreiser should ever have troubled the censor. His preoccupations, his sympathies, his indignations, his protestant zeals, should all have served to keep him from such an ordeal. If the present book had been the first on his long list, censorship might never have raised its head, whatever deviations from its straight and narrow path might have come later. Mr. Dreiser's early misfortunes in the literary field were largely due to the boldness and sincerity of a young man as yet without a record. A book, really, is to be judged less by itself than by the sum of its author's past performances. What, essentially, is the man himself?—such should be the question. What his aims? What his motives? But in his earlier days Dreiser had not declared himself with sufficient distinctness nor established himself with sufficient surety. What was really his parabola (or about to become such) was judged as a tangent—an abrupt departure from the circle of good usage and good morals—and, as such, was checked and punished.

But by now the whole man and his course are declared; and the whole of him is manifest in the present volume, brief and sketch-like as it is. He is here with heart, head, eye and hand—though, of course, in varying measures of importance and success. As to his heart, one may say that it is in the right place—far too much so for his own joy and comfort. As to his head, it is not quite equal to the puzzles and anomalies of today's life—but whose head is? As to his eye, it plays with a rapid accuracy over the whole scene, and renders it with a reportorial adequacy and decisiveness. As for his hand—well, that is another matter. The Dreiserian hand still remains a good deal of a fist—as strong and vigorous as you like, yet often cramped and maladroit. Diction is still subject to occasional lapses into the clumsy and the uncouth. Matter still takes precedence over manner. One might even say that Mr. Dreiser will never evolve a style—save for the familiar pronouncement that style is "of the man." His paragraphs have their own stamp. A definite imprint—even if heavy and askew—is on them all. However, the meat is the thing, not its dressing. Substance never fails, even if the light thrown upon it is not the insouciant pink of a Van Vechten nor the rich mahogany shade of a Vielé, as in The Last of the Knickerbockers, a memory of the past generation. And, despite the issue of Mr. Dreiser's endeavor, he really is occupied with beauty—or, in his own individual way, with the search for it. He dwells, in more than one passage, on "the beauty of life itself." He knows it "to be a shifting, lovely, changeful thing ever," something full of "marvels of charm in color, tone, movement, arrangement." And truly his Mannahatta is not all drab: he himself can do an occasional marvel with a flight of pigeons, with a distant sunlit tower, or with "the furies of snow and rain that speed athwart a hidden sun." His cloud, if it has not a silver lining, has sometimes at least a silvered edge.

For his city-dwellers—those of "Hell's Kitchen" and the lower East Side—he has a lessened illumination, or none at all. And his rivers, which he professes to enjoy, give him three pages of elegy to end on. One is tempted to remark cheerfully, per contra, that among the highest of high lights in New York is the sudden emergence, on a sunny noon, from Spuyten Duyvil, whether by boat or train, upon the northward prospect of the Palisades. One might even add, still more cheerfully, that the best nickel's-worth in the Metropolis—for the unaccustomed, at least—is the Staten Island ferry. Yet Mr. Dreiser prefers to see the rivers and the Bay as bordered by a ganglion of switch-yards frequented by depressed dock-hands, and as a sort of watery last refuge for the desperate and the defeated.

He has little attention to bestow on Fifth Avenue and Broadway. Yet each might be made to fit his nature and his hand. Perhaps to him, as to some others, the Avenue of the forties and fifties, beginning as a lure and a stimulus, continues as an irritation, and ends as an exasperation, whether over its life, its architecture or its general meaning. And what could be more temptingly heavy and dull (save for those immediately interested) than that long, long mile between City Hall Park and Grace Church? The man who can do so much with the varied crowds as they pour out of various homes for the day's work, or with the swarming aliens who toil among the tenements without pouring out at all, might produce a long concatenation of wonders from behind those tiresome iron fronts that both shelter and declare the glorious company of "importers."

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Making a last rapid resurvey of the book as a whole, I find the glints and gleams more numerous than I have acknowledged, and the general variety of topics more comprehensive and impressive than I have reported. Among them, the meeting, at Tammany Hall, of a certain minor political organization intent on a picnic, which is done with a fine, restrained objectivity. A paint-and-oil-shop fire in a tenement achieves a high degree of visibility, though the technique hovers between book and newspaper. A string of sketches, called "Characters," exhibits an early Dickens in miniature. And there are even papers—Heaven forgive me!—on The Wonder of the Waters and The Freshness of the Universe.

An early book, as I have implied, and as the author himself states. It exhibits a large, serious, massive nature experimenting with itself, getting acquainted with itself, and preparing itself for larger enterprises. It also exhibits many phases of a life now no longer strictly contemporaneous, as the author himself again states. Yet it helps mark the advances both of the city and of the man who depicts it, and should thus possess a standing value.

HENRY B. FULLER.

Last of the Empire Builders

The Story of My Life, by Sir Harry H. Johnston. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. $5.00.

"MY ambition," wrote Sir Harry Johnston in The Gay-Dombeys, one of the best of modern English novels, "was to bring as much of Africa as possible under the British flag, and then to study it at my leisure." This big book is the record of that ambition and its fulfillment.

Harry Johnston first saw Africa on a pleasure jaunt to Tunis in 1879, when he was twenty-one years old. Quite deliberately, after an excellent training in natural science, languages, and art, he settled upon Africa as his career. Africa at that time was little more than a great white blankness on the map. Here was space in which to breathe, natives, perhaps, to subjugate, lands to conquer. Here, like adventurers of a dim past, one might carve out empire. Here was a variety of opportunity for an adventurous young man. And with British doggedness and Celtic fire, Johnston set to work.

"I looked on Africa," he says in one of his books, "as the new world of the twentieth century." And perhaps the young man determined to become, if not its Christopher Columbus, at least its Balboa, its Cartier, its Pizarro.

For thirty years henceforth Africa was Harry Johnston's life. He met Stanley and with him penetrated the Congo. He led a scientific expedition to Mt. Kilimanjaro and climbed it. As vice-consul for three years in Nigeria, he opened the Cameroons to English trade. He negotiated treaties, conquered territory, and subdued natives. He waged an unofficial war upon Arabs from the Sudan. In 1889 he penetrated Nyasaland, advanced through the country, and added some 200,000 square miles to the British Empire. He returned to Nyasaland, organized it into British Central Africa, and administered it, as soldier and governor, until 1891.

Harry Johnston was now all of thirty-three. Blackwater fever sent him home, but he returned later as special high commissioner for Uganda, a new territory, and proceeded to explore, subjugate and consolidate it. Working with Rhodes in South Africa, he invented the phrase Cape-to-Cairo. He turned to Liberia and helped put that Negro republic on its feet. He went to the Congo again, discovered the famous pygmies, and came upon a new mammal, the okapi, which he named. For years, as adventurer and diplomat, he roamed the dark continent, from Zanzibar to Timbuctoo, from the Barbary coast to Johannesburg. Then, in 1901, owing to fever again, he retired.

Sir Harry Johnston brought to the business of empire building infinitely more equipment than explorers like Stanley and politicians like Cromer. First and last he was a scientist. Far more than in the political consequences of his imperialism, he was interested in the fauna and flora of Africa, its anthropology, its geology, especially its languages. As a practical zoölogist and botanist he discovered, classified and named thousands of specimens new to science. In the spare time left from administration and natural history, he drew, painted, and sketched, since photography was not practicable, exhibiting work later at the Royal Academy many times. His researches into African ethnology were profound. And with his two huge volumes, The Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages, he broke open an entire new field for linguistic study and listed, classified, and organized for the first time an unbelievable amount of material on some sixty different African languages.

Sir Henry has been described in print as a man of "superhuman, demoniac energy." One may well believe it. And the variety of his career, as well as its activity, is amazing. Back in England as the twentieth century opened, he threw himself into politics, education, and, as always, science. He lectured in Canada, Germany, and in the United States as the guest of President Roosevelt. In a series of exhaustive volumes he gave comprehensive historical, scientific, and anthropological descriptions of Liberia, the Congo, Uganda, and his own British Central Africa. He wrote over thirty other books, among them a treatise on phonetic spelling, a critical survey of the Irish question, an analysis of contemporary foreign relations, a descriptive handbook of British mammals, a biography of Livingstone, and a history of African civilization. When the war came he was fifty-eight: nevertheless he applied for service and was gassed in France. After the war, an old man, with his health failing, still searching for new worlds to conquer, he began to write novels. . . .

A vivid career, surely. And the autobiography which sets it down, soberly, dispassionately, methodically, almost does it justice.

Bright names fleck the pages—Cecil Rhodes, Lord Kitchener, Richard Burton, H. G. Wells, Lord Salisbury, Frank Harris, Lord Grey, Wilfrid Blunt, King Leopold of the Belgians, Joseph Chamberlain, Viscount Bryce, many more. Other names, possibly brighter, are Jaja, a trader in the Cameroons, Captain Hans Vischer, a nomadic German treaty maker, a Tamil servant who ran amuck and murdered two of Johnston's servants, and Mlozi, an Arab chieftain whom he defeated in a bloody battle and later calmly hanged.

Sir Harry sets down his fascinating story as an old man who is faintly sceptical, faintly tired. The bristling aggression of the early African books and the romantic gusto of The Gay-Dombeys have disappeared. The story, of course, tells itself, and he helps it along, very modestly, with little color or emphasis. But nothing could keep his autobiography from distinction as an essentially human story and as a panorama of all that was best in British imperialism.

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In some ways Sir Harry Johnston's Story of My Life is an epic. And it will remain a bright monument to the last of the great empire builders.

JOHN GUNTHER.

The Foundations of National Industrial Efficiency, by Vanderveer Custis. New York: The Macmillan Company. $2.25.

DR. CUSTIS is a mighty classifier. He spends a couple of chapters defining terms and gets us all primed and ready to wade into American industry from the standpoint of the commonweal instead of the corporation balance sheet. Though frequently bogged in the metaphysics of money, one catches a gleam of realization on the author's part of the physical realities—the corn lands, the steel rails, the forests, the water power, the wheels, levers, wires, the foot loose man power, the bread, meat, pianos, cocaine, and baby carriages—which underlie the price system, and with which any genuine science of economics must primarily deal. In this opening glimpse, Dr. Custis stands on the shoulders of his academic brethren. But like a rosy dawn which fades into a rainy day, the inspiration wanes, the definitions go by the board, and the book settles down to a dull, blameless, rather sophomoric recital of pools, trusts, government regulation, thrift, the services of stock brokers, conservation, and the uses and abuses of competition. Of the foundations of national efficiency we learn nothing. And of the greatest inefficiency of the age—the application of business-like sabotage to physical production—the worthy doctor has apparently never heard. The book is sired by a realist and damed by an academician, with the result that it must take its place with other abnormalities in side-show row, and is on the whole well worth the current market rate of admission into such entertainments. S. C.

Contributors

DR. ERNEST MINOR PATTERSON, professor of economics in the Wharton School of Commerce and Finance, University of Pennsylvania, returned in the middle of January from a survey of German conditions made at the request of the American Committee for the Relief of German Children. On several previous trips abroad in recent years he has made extensive studies of conditions there.

CHARLES H. FAHS has been for some years director of the Missionary Research Library of the Protestant Mission Boards of North America, and is joint editor of a World Missionary Atlas, now on the press. Having attended eight of the nine Student Volunteer Conventions, he is in an exceptionally good position to describe the recent remarkable gathering at Indianapolis.

CONSTANCE DREXEL is an American writer and journalist who has long served as newspaper correspondent in Europe. At present she is writing from Washington for several newspapers and magazines.

J. R. SPRAGUE is a professional magazine writer who has had extensive commercial experience in a number of cities in the West and South.

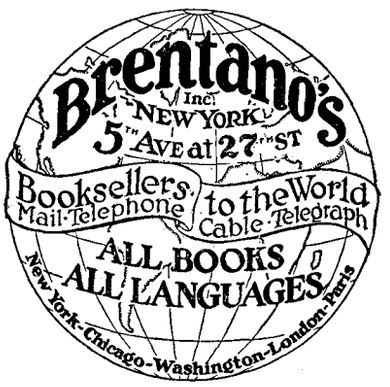
E. M. FORSTER, a graduate of Cambridge University, is the author of A Room with a View, The Celestial Omnibus and the Story of the Siren.

VIRGINIA WOOLF is an occasional contributor to the English literary journals and the author of The Voyage Out, Night and Day, Monday or Tuesday, and Jacob's Room.

THOMAS REED POWELL, professor of constitutional law at Columbia University, is the author of Separation of Powers, and Indirect Encroachment on Federal Authority by the Taxing Powers of the States.

HENRY B. FULLER has written stories of middle western life and novels of Italian travel.

JOHN GUNTHER is a recent graduate of the University of Chicago and a writer on the Chicago Daily News.



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COURSES BEGINNING
February 1, 8.40 P. M.....HORACE KALLEN
"Religious Character of Social Programs"
February 5, 7.00 P. M.....MARGARET DANIELS
"Elementary Psychology"
February 6, 8.40 P. M.....CLEMENT WOOD
"What's Right with Modern Poetry?"
February 8, 7.30 and 8.40 P. M.....SCOTT NEARING
"Methods in Sociology"
"Applied Sociology"
February 9, 11.00 A.M. & 3.15 P.M...SCOTT NEARING
"Social Values"
"Social Revolution"
BERTRAND RUSSELL lectures postponed to April 5th and 12th

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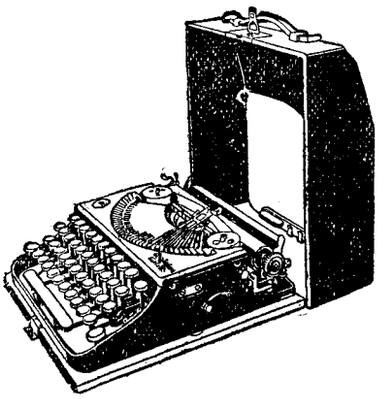

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